SEPTEMBER 1937

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

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BY E. VARGA

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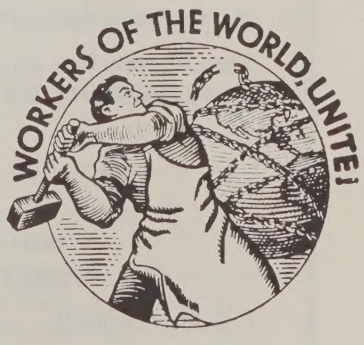

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THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

ORGAN OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

VOL. XIV SEPTEMBER, 1937 No. 9

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The Electoral Law of Socialist Democracy

On July 9, 1937, the Fourth Session of the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R. resolved to endorse the "Regulations regarding elections to the Supreme Council of the Soviet Union." There was finally endorsed the electoral law of Socialist democracy, the most democratic law in the world, which follows from that supreme and world historic document, the new Stalin Constitution. In a few months' time, the peoples of the great land of socialism—the workers, peasants, and intellectuals of the more than sixty peoples of the U.S.S.R.—will record their votes and by a free and secret ballot elect the best people, those who have their confidence.

The great Stalin Constitution implies not only a turn in the political life of the peoples of the U.S.S.R., but also provides the industrial workers and working people generally, the nations throughout the world, with a powerful weapon in their daily struggle for bread, liberty and peace, in their struggle to bring about the final emancipation of the working people, for socialism.

The electoral law of the great Stalin epoch is penetrated from beginning to end with the spirit of genuine, the only consistent, socialist democracy.

Those who sing the praises of decaying capitalism and who at the beginning passed over the new Constitution of the U.S.S.R. in silence are now endeavoring with the stubborness of despair to minimize the importance of the great Stalin Constitution and its electoral law, to "prove" to the masses that the elections in the U.S.S.R. are no different from elections in the capitalist countries, that socialist democracy is nothing other than a copy of bourgeois democracy, that victorious socialism is only imitating the principles of bourgeois democracy.

There was a time when universal, equal, direct and secret suffrage was a fighting slogan of the progressive bourgeoisie. Under the pressure of the masses of the people, and of the working class, not last of all, such suffrage was introduced into the constitutions of the bourgeois democratic states. Those who sing the praises of bourgeois democracy carefully hid and now hide from the masses that—

"Democracy in the capitalist countries where there are antagonistic classes is in the last analysis the democracy for the strong, democracy for the propertied minority. Democracy in the U.S.S.R., on the contrary, is democracy for the working people, *i.e.*, democracy for all."*

The more capitalism has been infected with decay, the less the working people have been prepared to bear its burdens submissively, the more reactionary have become the bourgeoisie, and the more cynically have they striven to do away with all the democratic rights of the people. A whole number of European states have done away with even formal bourgeois democracy—the place of which has been taken either by open or by scarcely hidden fascist domination by force.

Universal suffrage has been established in the U.S.S.R. Every citizen, who on the day of the elections has reached

* *Stalin on the New Soviet Constitution*, p. 23, International Publishers, New York. 2 cents.

eighteen years of age, has the right to elect and be elected, as long as he is not insane and has not been deprived of his electoral rights by decision of the courts. Whatever nation he may belong to, whatever his education may be, irrespective of whether he possesses means or not, whether he has lived in the particular locality for twenty years or a couple of days, every citizen who has attained eighteen years of age has the right to participate in the elections and may be elected to the post of deputy to any Soviet. The suffrage is general, without limitations, without conditions. Universal suffrage in the U.S.S.R. means *really universal* suffrage.

What is the position in this respect in the bourgeois democratic countries?

Let us leave on one side those states where parliament only serves as a fig leaf to cover the domination of the bourgeoisie, as for instance in Poland, Hungary, etc. Or let us take a look at the "classical" countries of bourgeois democracy. Is universal suffrage in England or America really *universal*?

In England, a citizen who has reached the age of twenty-one years has the right to participate in the election only if he belongs to the dominating British nation. Hundreds of millions of people in the colonies of the British Empire do not send a single member to the House of Commons; as far as they are concerned they have no place in bourgeois democracy.

The Dominions (Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa) elect their own parliaments, but it is characteristic that in South Africa, as in all the dominions, Negroes do not possess the right to participate in the elections (in recent years Negroes in the region of the Cape of Good Hope who formerly possessed limited electoral rights have been deprived of all rights to participate in the elections).

In England itself the right to vote is linked up with a three months' residential qualification; any person who three months prior to the drawing up of the voters' lists removes to another constituency forfeits the right to participate in the elections. This limitation of voting rights affects almost exclusively the working class and the poorer sections of the population.

In the U.S.A. every citizen who has attained the age of twenty-one years possesses voting rights, but in some states he must prove that he can write in English; millions of Negroes, particularly in the Southern states, have no voting rights. In a number of states, a three months' to two years' residential qualification is required before electoral rights can be secured. In France, Belgium and Switzerland women do not possess the right to participate in elections.

In the French colonies the native population, with few exceptions, do not possess electoral rights to this very day. Communists and Socialists are engaged in the struggle to secure that at least a section of the Arabs receive electoral rights; but the Right parties are well aware that such a measure would smash to bits their traditional majority in Algiers, and therefore are furiously opposed to such a measure.

In the town of Algiers the Arabs send twelve councilors to the City Council; but the overwhelming majority of the seats are reserved for the several thousand Frenchmen who live in Algiers. At the municipal elections which took place in July this year, the Arabs voted in a body for the People's Front. The twelve Arab councilors all belong to the People's Front, and of them seven are Communists. This is why the big bourgeois democratic states deprive the "natives" of the colonies of electoral rights.

Thus "universal" suffrage in the bourgeois democratic countries is far from being universal.

The suffrage in the Soviet Union is not only universal but also *equal*. The vote of each person is a full vote; no open or hidden privileges exist as in the bourgeois democratic states. Every constituency covers 300,000 electors, both in the industrial and in the peasant districts, each constituency sending one

deputy to the Supreme Soviet.

Although this principle of equality is recognized in theory in the bourgeois democratic states, in actual practice it is avoided in all possible ways. It very often happens that due to the uneven way in which the constituencies are made up, the advantage is on the side of those constituencies where the representatives of the ruling classes live, while the workers are placed in a disadvantageous position.

Great Britain is divided up into constituencies in accordance with the way the country was divided up into counties during the Middle Ages. As a result all the advantages are on the side of the agricultural constituencies at the expense of the industrial constituencies. The City of London—a stronghold of the bourgeoisie traditionally—sends two M.P.'s to Parliament. Each vote of these privileged electors is equal to hundreds of working class votes. The universities in Great Britain send their own members to Parliament (Oxford sending two, Cambridge sending two, and the less aristocratic universities sending one member each to Parliament).

The sons of the bourgeoisie carrying through their studies in the universities vote not only in the universities, but also in their own constituencies, thus possessing a double vote. But the principle of equality is violated in many bourgeois democratic states not only by the way the constituencies are made up.

The bourgeoisie also possess other advantages. In Great Britain every candidate has to put down a deposit of £150. If he fails to secure one-eighth of the total votes cast, this deposit is forfeited. For the bourgeois candidate such a deposit is a trifle. For the working class candidate, however, it is a big sum of money. Only in the U.S.S.R. does the electoral law correspond to full and unlimited equality between all citizens.

Soviet suffrage is not only universal and equal but also *direct*. Both the Council of the Union and the Council of Nationalities are elected by direct voting. The Council of the Union represents the joint interests of all the working people, regardless of their nationality. The Council of Nationalities aims at reflecting the special interests flowing from the national peculiarites of the Soviet peoples.

The two-chamber system in the bourgeois-democratic state has this other importance that the second chamber, the "upper house" (Senate, etc.), aims in the main at serving as a Conservative "corrective." The resistance of the French Senate to the progressive legislation of the French Chamber of Deputies is characteristic of the bourgeois-democratic two-chamber system.

The upper chamber, which is designed to protect the interests of high finance and to prevent the passage of measures that contradict these interests, should Parliament adopt such measures under the pressure of the masses, is in the majority of countries constituted by indirect elections or by appointments. Only aristocrats and bishops may sit in the House of Lords. People who have rendered service to the capitalist system receive titles from the King and thus make their way into the House of Lords.

In France the Senate is elected indirectly, *i.e.*, by deputies, and by county, district and municipal councilors. Similar violations of the direct suffrage also exist in other bourgeois-democratic countries.

Only direct elections will exist in the Soviet Union; all the Soviets of working people will serve as a complete reflection of the will of the people. The secrecy of the ballot is very strictly guaranteed by the regulations regarding the elections to the Soviets; the act of voting is regulated down to the smallest detail, with a view to excluding even the slightest violation of the secrecy of the ballot.

There is no need to say much about the countries dominated by fascist dictatorship. In the fascist states all the parties and organizations of the working people have been smashed; fascist "totalitarianism" tolerates only one organization of the ruling class, where neither elections, discussions, nor the free ex-

change of opinion take place. The "Fuehrer" appoints his assistants, his orders are law, not permitting of contradiction. If the "Fuehrer" wishes, a ballot takes place, the masses are driven to the ballot box, where they "vote" under the pressure of terror.

The insignificance of such "voting" is best of all characterized by the fact that according to information received from the officers in command of the German concentration camps the inhabitants of these camps vote between 90-100 per cent for the "Fuehrer," while in many places the votes in favor are numerically bigger than the total number of voters in the given locality.

When Hitler and Mussolini stage "elections," lists of candidates are drawn up on their instructions, and are presented as the only panel to the people, who are doomed to silent obedience. Despite this, the German, Italian and Austrian fascists have the effrontery to come forward as advocates of democracy in the U.S.S.R., with the assertion that the Soviet electoral law is "undemocratic." It is clear that they have been compelled to concoct the most stupid arguments. Brazenly and without turning a hair, they assert that the Soviet election law allows candidates to be put forward "only by the Communist Party and organizations subordinated to it." What is the position in actual fact? Let us quote Articles 56 and 57 of the law regarding elections. Article 56 reads as follows:

"The right to nominate candidates to the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. is guaranteed to public organizations and societies of toilers on the basis of Article 141 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R.; to Communist Party organizations, trade unions, cooperatives, organizations of the youth, cultural societies and other organizations registered in accordance with the law."

Article 57 reads as follows:

"The right to nominate candidates is enjoyed both by central organs of public organizations, and societies of toilers, as well as by their republican, territorial, provincial and district organs, likewise by general meetings of workers and office employees in enterprises, Red Army men in military units, and also by general meetings of peasants in collective farms and state farms, and office employees on state farms."

Thus not only have all public organizations the right to nominate candidates, but so also have meetings of workers and office employes in enterprises, of Red Armymen in military units, of peasants in collective farms. The Constituency electoral commissions are obliged to register all candidates nominated without exception and to include them in the panel. No special demands are made on the candidates nominated by the people, other than loyalty to the Land of the Soviets. All that the law requires of the candidate is that he state his name, age, address, Party affiliation and profession, and indicate his agreement to being nominated as a candidate.

Would not the fascists who slander democracy, and then proceed to assume the pose of its guardians, like to make a little attempt to introduce the "undemocratic" Soviet electoral law in their respective countries? Would they not like to give the right to nominate candidates to meetings of workers in factories, of peasants in the villages, and of soldiers in military units? Would they not like to undertake to provide the people with the possibility of balloting in secret for or against these candidates? Would they not at least like to introduce the secret ballot in their own organizations from top to bottom, from the very lowest to the very highest leading bodies? Would they not like to give the people the right to agitate without hindrance in favor of candidates nominated?

The fascists are warned against appropriating the "undemocratic" Soviet electoral law, for if they should do so that would mean the end of the domination of the bourgeoisie, for the overwhelming majority of the people would use their votes to overthrow them.

The fascists do not even dare to inform the people, oppressed by them, of the most important articles of the law

regarding the elections and the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. They understand perfectly well that the very *knowledge* of this electoral law, of this Constitution, would be transformed into a weapon of the people against their rule. This is why they hide from the peoples oppressed by them the text of Articles 56 and 57 of the Regulations regarding the elections, just as they hide the text of Article 125 which reads:

"In conformity with the interests of the toilers, and in order to strengthen the socialist system, the citizens of the U.S.S.R. are guaranteed by law:

"a. Freedom of speech;

"b. Freedom of the press;

"c. Freedom of assembly and of holding mass meetings;

"d. Freedom of street processions and demonstrations;

"These rights of the citizens are ensured by placing at the disposal of the toilers and their organizations, printing presses, stocks of paper, public buildings, the streets, means of communication, and other material requisites for the exercise of these rights."

This article of the Constitution guarantees the working people of the U.S.S.R. all possibilities of propaganda, of organizing meetings, of publicly expressing their views during the electoral campaign. Each word of this article of the Constitution is a crushing indictment of fascism and with it a sharp criticism of bourgeois democracy.

We have seen that the electoral law itself is used to deprive wide masses of the people in the bourgeois democratic countries of electoral rights, while the workers who possess the rights to vote are in every way placed at a disadvantage. But the picture will seem still more desolate if we take account not of the electoral laws, but take a glance at reality. The capitalists do not enter the electoral struggle openly, but hide behind all kinds of parties, which defend the program of their masters and fight under a false flag.

The mechanism of "public opinion" is in the hands of the capitalists. But this mechanism exists above all so as to cover up the real masters of the country behind clouds of gold and to distort the will of the masses. The big newspapers, journals, printing works, publishing houses, cinemas and theatres belong to the capitalists, but the people only see the publishers, editors, writers and agitators, all of them puppets of the capitalists who dress up in the toga of guardians of free public opinion. Through them the capitalists govern public opinion. These individuals are given the task of lying, falsifying, dissembling, slandering, misleading the people, and make use of the certain support of the state power.

The law courts, police and gendarmerie are in the service of the capitalists, in their struggle against the working class. But added to the violence permitted by law, there is the illegal terror of reaction. Everybody is aware, for instance, of the role played in the U.S.A. by the well-organized vigilante bands which murder trade union leaders, attack working class candidates, beating them up and crippling them; only few Negroes dare to approach the voting booths because every step taken by the Negro may be a step towards death.

Everybody is also aware of the bandit role played by fascist organizations in many bourgeois-democratic countries. The easier the attitude of bourgeois-democracy towards the mortal enemies of the people, the fascists, the more menacingly it hurls itself on the revolutionary workers. In almost all bourgeois-democratic states, the Communist press is censored and subject to confiscation while Communist meetings are forbidden, Communist organizations are disbanded and Communist agitators are arrested.

But the capitalists guarantee their preponderance not only by these gross methods; money makes it possible for them to bribe and corrupt entire sections of electors and to apply hundreds of more refined methods so as to secure favorable results for themselves.

It will be sufficient to make a study of the law adopted in bourgeois-democratic England, under the pressure of the working class, directed against the bribing of electors and excessive election expenses, to get some idea of the means utilized by the ruling classes in the electoral struggle. In the capitalist coun-

tries elections are a form of the class struggle, in which the propertyless classes are placed in the most unfavorable conditions by the electoral law, electoral practice and the material superiority of the bourgeoisie and their power. These propertyless classes carry on this struggle, unequally armed and tied hand and foot by the heavy chains of the class domination of the capitalists.

The elections in the U.S.S.R. differ fundamentally from the elections in the capitalist world. In the U.S.S.R. there are no classes fighting one another, and if it should happen that the covert agents of the class enemy attempt to use the electoral campaign in favor of the enemies of the people, inside and outside the country, there can be no doubt whatsoever that the entire Soviet people will deal a crushing blow at these people in defense of the general interests of the working class, peasants, working intellectuals, the general interests of the socialist state. In the Soviet Union it is not a case of the exploited being engaged in a struggle against the exploiters, of the oppressed against the oppressors, of the parties of the propertyless against the parties of the property-owners. In the Soviet Union the point at issue is the election of the best people, the placing of them in suitable positions, and of replacing duffers, passive and incompetent people by honest, devoted, energetic and businesslike representatives of the people. In his conversation with Roy Howard, the American journalist, Comrade Stalin said:

"Yes, election campaigns will be lively, they will be conducted around numerous very acute problems, principally of a practical nature, of first-class importance for the people. Our new electoral system will tighten up all institutions and organizations and compel them to improve their work. Universal, equal, direct and secret suffrage in the U.S.S.R. will be a whip in the hands of the population against the organs of government which work badly."*

* *The Stalin-Howard Interview*, p. 15. International Publishers, New York. 2 cents.

With these words, Comrade Stalin characterized the essence of the elections that take place in socialist society. In these elections all the facilities of real democracy, all the facilities of the press, radio, meetings, public discussion and secret ballot are placed at the disposal of the people. At the head of all public organizations taking part in these elections there will be the Communist Party. It will come before the masses with a program which will tell the people what no other party in the world can do:

"Look at this country," it will say, "for hundreds of years it was a land of hunger, servitude, ignorance, and backwardness. We have conquered hunger, smashed the chains of servitude, done away with illiteracy and overcome our backwardness. Look at the towns which we have built. Look at the factories which have come into being, look at the treasures which we have withdrawn from the bowels of the earth. On land which was formerly wild and fruitless steppes now, as though by magic, there have appeared schools, books, children's homes, libraries, all of which exist in plenty in our country. And our young people, our heroes! And the liberty, culture and progress of the last twenty years! Look and judge for yourselves!"

The elections will rally the whole of the Soviet people to a still greater degree around the Communist Party, and will deal a crushing blow at all the wiles of the enemies of the land of socialism, at the fascist warmongers, the Trotsky-Bukharinite agents of fascism, spies, diversionists, at all who hate liberty and peace.

Never has a party been able to come before the people with such a splendid result of achievements and successes.

All this has been achieved by the working class and the peoples of the U.S.S.R., under the leadership of the great Party of Lenin-Stalin at whose head there stands the person whose name is pronounced with a profound love by all working mankind.

Unity of Action Is Possible Everywhere

BY K. GOTTWALD

EVER since the beginning of the rebellion of the Spanish generals and of the fascist intervention in Spain, the Communist International has been tireless in its efforts to establish united working class action on an international scale in defense of the Spanish people. In the last number of our magazine, the efforts of the Communist International in this direction were dealt with in detail. Since then there have been a number of new points.

At the initiative of the Communist International, a meeting took place at last in Annemasse (France), on June 21, 1937, between representatives of the Communist International and of the Labor and Socialist International. The representatives of the Communist International introduced a number of proposals, the content of which was that the two Internationals join forces in conducting a *united* campaign on behalf of Republican Spain. The representatives of the Labor and Socialist International, its president, De Brouckere, and it secretary, Friedrich Adler, declared that they were not empowered to conclude such an agreement. Neverthless the meeting at Annemasse showed that the views of the Internationals coincided on the three following points: first, it was noted that both Internationals were at bottom advancing the same demands as regards Spain; second, the view was expressed that it was necessary wherever at all possible to strive to act jointly on behalf of the Spanish people; third, it was agreed that a further meeting take place in the near future for the purpose of discussing in detail the campaign on behalf of Spain.

After the meeting in Annemasse, the Right wing of the Labor and Socialist International undertook an open campaign against its president, De Brouckere. The bitter enemies of the working class unity in the various parties of the Labor and Socialist International reproached De Brouckere for meeting the representatives of the Communist International at all; they declared in advance that should any agreement be arrived at with the Communist International regarding united action, they would simply refuse to observe it and as, for instance, Albard of Holland did, even threatened to split the Labor and Socialist International. In reply to this De Brouckere resigned from the post of president of the Labor and Socialist International and wrote in this connection that he was not convinced of the correctness of the present policy of the Labor and Socialist International. Both the secretary, Friedrich Adler, and the treasurer, Van Roosbrek, followed De Brouckere in resigning.

On June 24, a joint session of the Executive Committee of the Labor and Socialist International and the International Federation of Trade Unions took place in Paris. A resolution was adopted in which the Labor and Socialist International and International Federated Trade Unions made it an obligation on all organizations affiliated to them (1) "to do their utmost to bring

pressure to bear upon the governments affiliated to the League of Nations" so that they will afford assistance to the Spanish people; (2) "to secure the return to freedom of trade" so that the Spanish government may obtain the arms it requires; (3) "to spread the unquestionable duty of solidarity towards the cause of republican Spain to cover all members and responsible organizations affiliated to the Internationals." In the official resolution adopted at the session, not a word was said about the negotiations at Annemasse.

On June 25-26 a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Labor and Socialist International took place. It was there decided not to accept the resignations of De Brouckere, Adler and Van Roosbrek, the motive being given that "they, better than anyone else, could, in their relations with outside organizations, use their powers, as hitherto, in the spirit of the Labor and Socialist International, and thus serve the interests of unity of the Labor and Socialist International and of its active propaganda." At that meeting of the Labor and Socialist International no decision at all was taken on the question of Spain and, in particular, nothing was officially said about Annemasse.

Meanwhile events in Spain grew still more tense in consequence of the incessant military provocation of the fascist powers. Coordinated interference by the international working class movement became more and more imperative. Although the Labor and Socialist International and the International Federation of Trade Unions had adopted decisions, they took no action. On June 26, Comrade Dimitroff sent another telegram to Comrade Thorez for transmission to the representatives of the Labor and Socialist International and the International Federation of Trade Unions; in it he referred to the Annemasse agreement and put forward the following proposals:

"1. The international labor organizations jointly to address the demands to the parliaments and governments of all non-fascist states, primarily Great Britain, France, the United States and the Soviet Union, that they shall undertake urgent joint measures for the immediate recall of the Italian and German interventionist forces from Spain; for the lifting of the blockade of the Spanish Republic, and for the recognition of all the international rights of the constitutional Spanish government.

"2. The international labor organizations jointly to address the demands to the League of Nations for the application of the Covenant against the aggressors who have attacked Spain.

"3. The international labor organizations simultaneously to address a joint call to the working class of all countries and world opinion to do everything in their power in order to realize these demands and also not to allow any new acts of aggression on the part of the interventionists and to bring the criminal war against the Spanish people to an end as speedily as possible.

"The delegation of the Communist International is also instructed to discuss any proposals of the Labor and Socialist International and International Federation of Trade Unions regarding joint or coordinated action of the international labor organizations in defense of the Spanish people."

De Brouckere responded to these proposals with a letter to Comrade Thorez dated June 27, in which he asserted that the Labor and Socialist International "had done everything essential as regards the points put forward in the telegram, but on its own responsibility." Further, De Brouckere expressed the opinion that Comrade Dimitroff's proposals contradicted the Annemasse agreement, but declared his readiness "to continue the matter of Annemasse but on the Annemasse basis." Comrade Thorez answered De Brouckere that the aim pursued by Comrade Dimitroff's proposals was precisely in the spirit of the Annemasse agreement to arrive at joint and coordinated action by the two Internationals; that it was not enough to put forward good demands, it was also necessary to adopt measures to ensure that

these demands were put into effect, and that this required a new meeting of the representatives of the two Internationals. This new meeting took place in Paris on July 9. The representatives of the Communist International substantiated and developed the proposals of Comrade Dimitroff, with the following additions:

1. Both Internationals should support the demonstration of the International Committee for Aid to Republican Spain and the International Youth Commission for Republican Spain, fixed for July 18, the anniversary of the fascist rebellion.

2. Both Internationals should come to an agreement as to the need for providing all-around assistance to the International Committee for Aid to Republican Spain.

3. The two Internationals should send a joint deputation to the League of Nations, demanding that the latter immediately convene a session of the League of Nations to discuss the Spanish question.

4. Both Internationals arrive at an agreements concerning the urgent necessity for joint or coordinated measures to bring about an all-around increase in the material aid to the Spanish people, to ensure that care is taken of evacuated women and children, and also that the further necessary evacuation of women and children, especially from the North of Spain, should take place.

A communique was issued on this meeting which stated that "An exchange of opinions revealed general agreement on the part of the two Internationals on the question of the necessary action in behalf of Republican Spain."

* * *

It is clear from the facts given above that the Comintern, on its part, is doing everything to make it easy for the Labor and Socialist International to participate in joint action on behalf of the Spanish people. Something has already been achieved in this sphere. If both Internationals have put forward what are at bottom identical demands as regards Spain, that is already a success. If the representatives of the two Internationals have declared themselves in favor of joint action in aid of the Spanish republic "wherever it is possible," that is already a success. If the representatives of the two Internationals meet from time to time for an exchange of opinions, that is a success. But it must be said outright that in view of the seriousness of the situation and of the significance of all that is taking place in Spain, all that has been achieved up to now cannot be considered as either satisfactory or sufficient.

If it has not been possible up to now to pass on from joint meetings to joint or *coordinated action* by the two Internationals, the responsibility for this lies beyond all doubt with the Right opponents of unity inside the Labor and Socialist International. One can only be surprised at the way in which these people reacted to the mere news of the meeting of the president and secretary of the Labor and Socialist International with the Communist International delegates. They literally fell into a panic, as one of them, the Czech Social-Democrat Stivin, admitted in an article written with a pen dipped in a sewer (*Pravo Lidu*, July 3, 1937).

The same night they reported to the whole world that the bourgeoisie could rest assured; that there could be no question of any unity of action with the Comintern. And the enemies of unity in the committees and editorial offices of the various Social-Democratic parties did not hesitate to start a public campaign of slander against the president of their own International, merely because he sat at the same table with representatives of the Comintern. They even went so far as to threaten to split the Labor and Socialist International if the latter entered into negotiations with the Communist International for joint action in aid of the Spanish people.

Just think: these people remain quite calm when German fascists bombard Almeria. These people display no alarm

when German and Italian armies of intervention occupy Bilbao. These people remain observers, content merely to look on while fascist Germany and Italy throw ever fresh reinforcements on to the Spanish front. Yet they fall into a frenzy and begin to sound the alarm when the president of their International meets with Communists to discuss how best to organize aid to the Spanish people who are in danger.

* * *

It is, of course, to be presumed that even the most violent opponents of united action among the leaders of the Labor and Socialist International clearly appreciate the consequences of victory by Hitler and Mussolini in Spain, for the whole of the international working class movement, and, consequently, for the Labor and Socialist International. What then is the explanation of their stubborn resistance to united action in defense of Spain?

First of all, they assert that they have themselves already done everything necessary for Spain, and that for that reason common action with the Communists is superfluous. True, decisions have been taken by them, demands have been put forward. Is it not clear, however, that the finest demands at best only remain good desires if no care is taken to pave the way to their realization?

But can it be said that the Right leaders of the Social-Democratic parties have seen to this? No, they have not. Here is one example out of many. One of the chief demands of the Labor and Socialist International and the International Federation of Trade Unions states that it is essential to bring pressure to bear upon the governments of the states belonging to the League of Nations in order that aid be afforded to the Spanish government.

Social-Democrats are members of the governments of Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Sweden and Finland. Have they adhered to their own decision and acted this way in relation to their own governments? No, they have not; at any rate the behavior of these governments towards Spain does not as yet show this. Perhaps the Right Social-Democrats will object: "Yes, our countries are not big, their relative weight in the League of Nations is insignificant. So long as England and France do not change their line, we can do nothing."

That is not quite true. Of course, very much in the Spanish question depends upon the attitude of England and France. But collective action on the part of the small states in support of Spain would undoubtedly make a big impression upon the governments of England and France, and would have its influence upon their attitude towards Spain. The more so since the small states could in this regard rely upon the active support of the great Soviet Union, which has repeatedly made concrete proposals in support of Republican Spain, but has, unfortunately, always remained isolated. Where were the representatives of Social-Democracy in the governments, then?

But let us look at the other side of the question. It is true that in consequence of its behavior the British Conservative government bears the chief responsibility for the fact that Hitler and Mussolini can devastate Spain with impunity. But is there no strong Labor Party, a section of the Labor and Socialist International, in England? Has this powerful Labor Party taken any really serious step to compel the Conservative government to take another road? No, it has not. And yet the attitude of British public opinion towards Republican Spain is such today that no British government would dare to act against that public opinion if there was a purposeful, powerful force to rouse and rally together this public opinion. The leadership of the Labor Party contents itself with spineless protests and declarations; instead of concentrating all its forces on the struggle against the policy of the Conservative government on the Spanish question, it spends its time fighting against united working class action at home and on the international arena.

And so we witness the spectacle of the British Conservative government permitting Hitler and Mussolini to rule the roost in Spain. The French government refers us to the behavior of their English colleagues and sighs: "Yes, if only those Englishmen would behave differently, we would also rise to the occasion, but in the given conditions! . . . "

The governments of the other bourgeois-democratic states for their part point their hand at England and France. This shameful game is continued in the international labor movement; the leadership of the British Labor Party is at the head of the struggle against united action, thus making it possible for the British Conservative government to continue calmly with its fatal policy in the Spanish question.

The French Socialists point to this and declare: "Can we push our radicals further forward on the question of Spain, while our English brothers have not set the brains of their own Conservatives aright?"

The Socialists in other countries, in their turn, look towards London and justify their passivity by the behavior of the Labor Party. In short, everybody blames everybody else, passing the responsibility from one to the other, while the heroic Spanish people are shedding their blood, suffering and fighting for the whole progressive world, without receiving the help they should get.

Thus, the following, at least, is clear: The Labor and Socialist International and the International Federation of Trade Unions have passed decisions in favor of the Spanish Republic, but their organizations have as yet taken no serious steps to put these decisions into practice. The explanation for this is that at the head of many of the national organizations of the Labor and Socialist International and the Interantional Federation of Trade Unions there are still people who *subordinate* the policy of the working class organizations to the policy of the bourgeoisie.

The policy of the bourgeoisie or individual countries of bourgeois-democracy as regards Spain is a double-faced one. It is double-faced in the sense that the *reactionary* section of the bourgeoisie in all countries more or less openly supports Franco, Hitler and Mussolini, while the *democratic* section of the bourgeoisie, which is particularly afraid of the conquest of Spain by Hitler and Mussolini, does not at the same time want the victory of the Spanish People's Front *for class motives*, and therefore takes no energetic steps to aid the Spanish republic.

This also explains the behavior of the states of bourgeois-democracy headed by Great Britain. And the subordination of the policy of the labor movement to the policy of the bourgeoisie finds its expression in the fact that the Right leaders of the Labor and Socialist International and the International Federation of Trade Unions, in spite of their own decisions, continue to sabotage everything that could clear the way for an *independent* policy by the international working class in regard to Spain, in the different countries, first and foremost, in the work of establishing united action on a national and international scale.

But in the different bourgeois-democratic countries a political situation has arisen where it requires just this stimulus so as to set in motion *tremendous* forces which, undoubtedly, could stimulate the governments to adopt an attitude towards republican Spain which corresponds to the demands of the international working class. The demands of the international working class as regards Spain objectively coincide with the interests of broad sections of the peasantry and urban petty-bourgeoisie; they correspond to the real interests of entire peoples.

And indeed: who in England and France is interested in Hitler and Mussolini being beaten in Spain? Clearly all except a handful of persons on Hitler's payroll, all except descendants of the Coblenz emigrants who sold the French republic to the Prussian king. For it is clear that here, as countries of bourgeois-democracy, the interests of

Britain and France demand that Hitler and Mussolini be driven out of Spain.

Who in such countries as Czechoslovakia, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, etc., is interested in the victory of Hitler and Mussolini in Spain? There is not the slightest doubt that this would be a most serious menace to the national and state existence of these countries. It is clear that the only people so interested are the open agents of Hitler and Mussolini along with a handful of reactionary traitors to their own people. Can there, in these circumstances, be any serious doubt that it would have been possible in all countries to develop a *really popular movement* in favor of the Spanish republic, a movement of the people with which the respective governments would have had, willy-nilly, to reckon?

But this requires that the Gordian knot be cut. The working class must act *with closed ranks* nationally and internationally. Then it would be possible to put a speedy end to the unworthy comedy being played by the governments of the bourgeois-democratic countries, which nod their heads towards each other and all together do nothing for the tortured Spanish republic. And in any case: as long as the *working class* tolerates such methods in *its own ranks*, the governments of the bourgeois-democratic states will not act in any other way.

In this connection, just one remark regarding the policy of those leaders of the Labor and Socialist International and International Federation of Trade Unions who are already beginning to be persuaded of the need for working class unity, at any rate on the Spanish question. They should take into account that if they declare for united action in aid of the Spanish republic inside the Labor and Socialist International and International Federation of Trade Unions, they thereby express the desires of the *majority* of the organizations and members of these Internationals. This will make it possible for them to be far more resolute, far more consistent in opposing those who sabotage unity. Tolerance and half-measures are least in place here. The veto imposed by the inveterate opponents of unity is by no means a supreme law before which each and every one must bow.

Quite the contrary: it is precisely now that the friends of working class unity in the ranks of the Labor and Socialist International and International Federation of Trade Unions have every right and ground for declaring that united action by the working class on behalf of the Spanish people must take place wherever it is possible.

Splendid! It must be possible *everywhere!*

The French Cabinet Resigns, the People's Front Remains

BY J. COGNIOT

A MINISTERIAL crisis broke out in France a year after the government which originated in the People's Front came to power as a result of the electoral victory in May, 1936. The Blum government resigned on June 20. The Cabinet was led by the Socialists, and in carrying out the program of the People's Front it had the loyal support to the very end of the Communist parliamentary group. Two days after the Cabinet's resignation it was replaced by the Chautemps government with approximately the same composition, but under the leadership of a Radical.

This change of Ministry was followed with keep interest by public opinion, and especially by the masses of working people not only in France but also in other countries. The French bourgeoisie, by their maneuver of encircling the People's Front, came directly under a bright searchlight in connection with this resignation of the Leon Blum government, the first Ministry in France based on the front of the proletariat and petty bourgeoisie—the anti-fascist People's Front.

The menace of a return to a government of "national concentration," of the isolation of the working class, and of a transition to a position of fascist reaction evoked vigorous resistance from the proletariat and masses of working people who at once raised their voices to demand the maintenance and the strengthening of the representation of the People's Front in the government.

Not only enemies, but also friends, raised the question as to whether the ministerial crisis that broke out on June 20 was not the outward expression of something deeper and more serious, the beginning of a crisis of the People's Front in France, whether the leadership of public policy was not passing into the hands of the reactionary bourgeoisie. In actual fact the significance of the ministerial crisis consisted in the following:

1. The reactionary big bourgeoisie and fascist gangs assumed that the time had come not only to put a brake on, but also to put a stop to, the realization of the program of the People's Front or even to secure the withdrawal of the fulfilment of its separate sections, primarily of its social program—the new labor legislation, such as the law on the 40-hour week. This was the aim, the financial difficulties of the government serving as the occasion.

2. The reactionary bourgeoisie cast away all restraint in consequence of the policy of delays, of partial capitulations and of the "pause," which the Leon Blum government was carrying out to an ever greater extent in the sphere of domestic policy, especially in the financial field. It was just this policy that prevented the government from coping with the budget difficulties in the treasury.

3. It was owing to its weakness and irresolution that the Blum government resigned when faced with the attack of the reactionary bourgeoisie. It succumbed to the maneuvers and the pressure of finance capital whereas it should and could have stood firm.

4. The People's Front, however, remained the predominant force. The proletariat and petty bourgeoisie in town and country remained as before firmly united in the People's Front. On the very day of the resignation of the first

government based on the People's Front, a number of local elections took place in France which everywhere reflected a new and considerable advance of the People's Front and a very palpable defeat of reaction.

5. As regards the Communist Party, which was the initiator and remains the inspiring force of the People's Front, its mass influence, political role and state of organization entered a new period of advance.

It is in the light of this situation, characterized both by the growth of the Party and by the strong move leftwards by the masses, that one must view the June 15 resolution of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party. This resolution emphasizes the point that in view of the fierce attack of fascist reaction, and in order to beat off this attack and to strengthen the People's Front, the Communist Party declares its readiness to assume its full measure of responsibility in a government with a strengthened composition and reflecting the People's Front. As regards the forces of the opposite political role, the forces of fascism, they on the other hand are in a state of stagnation. For the time being fascism has not succeeded in rallying even the traditional forces of reaction under its banner.

6. All these conditions denote that the People's Front could not but maintain freedom of initiative in its actions. The initiative, lost by the reactionary bourgeoisie after their heavy defeat in the elections of May, 1936, and in the sphere of the economic struggle in June, 1936, this time once again escaped it. The resignation of the first government based on the People's Front did not clear the way for a change in the government program, did not overthrow or even shake the parliamentary majority, did not bring about any regrouping of forces, did not change the socio-political atmosphere in the country. A second Cabinet appeared, based upon the People's Front.

The Communist Party, whose prestige rose, thanks to the firmness and far-sightedness of its political line during the crisis, is more than ever before in a position to respond to the aspirations of the broad masses, who continue to swing to the Left, towards consolidating the People's Front, towards a merciless struggle against fascist reaction.

* * *

It would be superfluous to dwell in detail on the motives which inspired and still inspire the capitalist bourgeoisie to break the new labor legislation and first and foremost to abolish the 40-hour week. There is no doubt at all that the People's Front really did give the working class of France an opportunity to win important advantages. Incidentally the law introducing the 40-hour working week which was passed a year ago did not remain on paper, as finance capital had hoped it would, and has already been put into practice for the majority of the workers. At the present moment it can be said, without exaggeration, that France is trying to occupy the first place among the capitalist countries in the sphere of social and labor legislation, which the French employers have for a long time managed to avoid to a considerable extent.

As Comrade Thorez, General Secretary of the Communist Party of France, showed quite clearly in his report at the meeting of the leading Party workers of the Paris Region, the financial oligarchy has not become poorer because of the new social laws. Thanks to the economic improvement of the country, which has continued steadily since August, 1936, even though slowly and unevenly, the profits of banking, industrial and trading companies have increased. The *Activite Economique* reports:

"The change in prices has brought in its train considerable profits; this, apparently, is confirmed by the increase in dividends for the year 1936."

The London *Economist* of May 19 writes:

"In general, the profitability of French industry at the present time has not only been restored but has increased, for example, by comparison with the period 1931-1937, as may be seen from a comparison of indices." (Retranslated.)

While continuing to grow richer, the big bourgeoisie of France nevertheless see with fury how the working class have improved their position thanks to their economic and political struggle; the big bourgeoisie hate the new social legislation, which may serve the struggle against the exploitation of the masses and help to strengthen the position of the working class. During the last year, reaction has been mobilizing all its forces to overthrow the People's Front program and disintegrate the People's Front itself. Up to now it has been unsuccessful either in destroying the compact bloc of the working class headed by the powerful Confederation General du Travail, [General Confederation of Labor], or in isolating the working class from other sections of the people, namely, the peasants and the urban petty bourgeoisie, who have made common cause with the proletariat through the People's Front.

But the big bourgeoisie were more fortunate in blackmailing the government, parliament, the People's Front, in connection with the financial difficulties. They are moreover striving for the postponement, if not the rejection, of the reforms included in the program of the People's Front.

In the report mentioned above, Maurice Thorez referred to Marx, who taught us, in *The Class Struggle in France*, that:

"The state deficit was even the main object of its speculation [*i.e.* of the July monarchy, *Ed.*] and played the chief role in its enrichment. At the end of each year a new deficit. After expiry of four or five years a new loan. And every new loan offered new opportunities to the finance aristocracy for defrauding the state, which was kept on the verge of bankruptcy—it had to contract with the bankers under the most unfavorable conditions."

False declarations to the fiscal organs about the value of movable property; insufficient taxation of large incomes; the concealment of the greater part of monopolist profits; the mystery which surrounds the total sum of the national income—all these explain the chronic deficit in the French state budget which has always lived to a considerable degree on loans and short-term bank credits.

The government which operated the legislation for the 40-hour week and the other conquests of the working class of the last year was deprived of these "normal" resources available to its predecessors, and rendered all the more necessary in view of the need for armaments.

For the first time, in the beginning of March, did it receive the required financial means by issuing a loan on terms exceptionally attractive to the bourgeoisie. But the position did not improve for long. The flight as far as possible from the vaults of the Banque de France of the gold belonging to the rich was renewed and still further increased. It is difficult exactly to determine the volume of capital that left the country, but it may be presumed that no less than 60,000,000,000 francs "made off" that way.

Only an insignificant part of this sum corresponds to what is really required to cover indebtedness to foreign importers. Here we are dealing with a well-organized international plan, at the bottom of which lie not only motives of French domestic policy, but also considerations of foreign policy. For example, in Switzerland, in the Geneva canton, the reactionary bourgeoisie adopted a special law affording extremely big advantages to "emigrated" French capital. When the bourgeoisie endeavor to bring especially strong pressure to bear upon the government, they organize an increase in the flight of gold. During June of this year alone, the Banque de France was subjected to "blood-letting" to the extent of 7,800,000,000 francs. It should be noted that every one of the French fascists and "patriots at so much per cent" who organize this flight of gold knows full well how pleased is Hitler fascism at this depletion of the war coffers of the Banque de France, in anticipation of possible complications in the sphere of foreign trade.

In the program of the People's Front provision is made for a number of meas-

ures to overcome the maneuvers and sabotage of finance capital in the sphere of taxation; these measures include that of "control over the flight of capital, and the most severe repression for the flight of capital to the point of confiscation of the means concealed abroad or of their equivalent in France."

It also provides for a reform in taxation, not of a socialist character, but "a democratic reform of the system of taxation"; "measures affecting large properties," the struggle against deception of taxation authorities. This is what the majority of the French people desire: the workers and peasants, traders, artisans, office employees, who have made their own the famous slogan of the Communist Party: "Make the Rich Pay."

But it was precisely this section of the People's Front program that the Leon Blum government did not have the courage to put into practice. Not being desirous of making the basis of the new 1937 budget a reform in taxation such as would have brought money to the state by being aimed at the rich, the government was compelled in the middle of June, after it had coped for the first time with the financial difficulties in March, to ask parliament for extensive financial powers in order to emerge from the dramatic situation where only a few millions were left in the state coffers.

Such was the policy which enabled the financial oligarchy to increase its pressure upon the government intermittently, and more especially since the beginning of the year 1937.

On the other hand, reaction became more and more alarmed at the growth of the movement of the masses and its Leftward trend, and of its invariably united and solid character. May the First was a clear indication of this stable line of direction of the working people. The by-elections in May also were an illustration of these sentiments.

The General Confederation of Labor with its 5,000,000 members created a greater impression than ever before by its might and solidarity, at a time when the Prime Minister demanded the extension for six months of the collective agreements which expired in June, while the trade unions firmly and calmly raised the question of the struggle against the arbitrariness of the employers and the persecution carried through by the fascists, who are sifting out what are to them undesirable elements when employing or dismissing wage workers. At the same time the trade unions steadily demanded the introduction of the 40-hour week and its extension to all branches of industry.

A new proof of the increased activity of the masses has been provided during the last few weeks by the movement in favor of the demands of aged workers which have united all sections of the working population around the slogan "Pensions for the Aged." This slogan, which was contained in the program of the Radical Party at the end of last century, corresponds to the best democratic traditions of France. The Communist Party made a decision to employ all its moral prestige to support the organization of a National Day for Aged Workers. June 12 was the day appointed and passed off with huge success.

Finally, the prospects of the peasant movement in the framework of the People's Front are alarming the big landlords and finance capital. Farmers, not to mention the agricultural laborers who are impatiently awaiting the satisfaction of their demands, are striving to secure the immediate solution of the problems of agricultural indebtedness, improvement of the legislation regarding farmers and sharecroppers, the introduction of such insurance against natural calamities in agriculture, of such collective agreements regarding the conditions governing the sale of milk, sugar-beets, etc., as will protect the working peasantry against the monopolist big trading sharks, etc. In order to reinforce these demands, the Central Committee of the Communist Party decided to organize a day of demonstrations on July 4, with eighty meetings in the agricultural centers.

This growth of the mass movmeent still further alarmed reaction; at the same time, in view of the weakness displayed in government circles, it raised its head still more boldly. That is why

it decided without any further delay to strike a blow at the moment when the government was fighting against its financial difficulties—the consequence of its own timidity in the face of the insolent attacks of finance capital—difficulties which, it appeared, could not be overcome by the normal financial measures. And so the big bourgeoisie made use of the demand for financial powers to be extended to the government, to try to liquidate the People's Front as the leading political force in the country.

Why did the government require the financial powers it demanded from Parliament? It was not, of course, intending to finish with its policy of half-measures and vacillations in the face of the rich; it reckoned, on the one hand, to obtain thousands of millions of francs in new indirect taxation at the expense of the working people, and, on the other hand, to a certain extent to increase direct taxation on big capital and adopt measures to fight against speculation. Perhaps it hoped that it "would not tease the brute" too much by such a policy.

But two representatives of banking circles who, thanks to the weakness displayed by the government not only on questions of improving finances but also on questions of improving the state apparatus, occupied leading posts in the management of state finance, Rist and Bandoin, handed in their resignation, thus tripping up the government.

The estimate made by the Communists of the demand for financial powers was chiefly from the viewpoint of the political perspective, of the general circumstances of the political situation. It is clear that fascist reaction, which had made a violent attack on the government, was using the financial difficulties merely as an excuse; actually it was aiming at the labor legislation, chiefly at the 40-hour working week—and at the People's Front as the predominating political force in the country.

Caillaux, the chairman of the Finance Commission of the Senate, and the individual directly to blame for the difficulties of the government, expressed himself sufficiently clearly in this regard. The general reporter for this commission blamed the former government on June 30, post factum, for inadequately countering the prestige of "the government" to the "external influences," which had arisen as a result of "the strong impetus given in June of this year to the general policy of the country"; in other words, he reproved the government for not acting against the working class and not depriving them of the economic and social gains the strike movement in June, 1936, had brought to the proletariat.

The Leon Blum government had a few months earlier proposed a compromise to finance capital in the shape of a "pause," *i.e.*, the postponement of the introduction of the articles of the People's Front program that had not yet been fulfilled; but the bourgeoisie reckoned upon the working class retreating, and hoped to drive them out of the positions they had won several months later.

Although the government obtained the usual majority in the Chamber of Deputies, it was refused financial powers by a majority of the senate (June 20), which is elected in France on the basis of the far from democratic system of indirect voting, which affords a favorable field for the intrigues of capital. Then the Leon Blum government resigned.

The government was by no means obliged to give up its power. First of all, if we argue from the viewpoint of constitutional law, it had not raised the question of confidence before the Senate; it had suffered defeat on the question of financial powers, but had by no means been overthrown. Secondly, if the worst came to the worst the government could go to its electors, and it is clear that it would have obtained a still more expressive reply than in May of 1936. Finally, the government could simply have turned for support to the majority of the People's Front in the Chamber of Deputies, could have firmly and with equanimity relied upon the mass movement of the People's Front, and thus have continued its resistance to the pressure of reaction and the discussion with the Senate. The history of the Third Republic in France contains precedents of such tactics; there was the case when a government—and note, a government

which did *not* have the support of an organization like the People's Front, and was *not* under the leadership of the Socialists—just an ordinary radical ministry like, for example, the Leon Bourgeois Cabinet at the end of last century —fought boldly for several months against a hostile majority in the Senate.

However, late in the night of June 20, Leon Blum decided to resign from office. The same night he officially received Comrades Jacques Duclos and Marcel Gitton, secretaries of the Communist Party, who assured him of the unconditional support of the Communists against reaction, and advised him not to resign.

We know that it was not only the representatives of the Communists who gave Leon Blum such advice; authoritative representatives of the Paris organization of the Socialist Party and of the Left wing of that party talked to him the same night in the same strain.

Subsequently an attempt was made to justify the resignation of the Leon Blum government by depicting the position as though the voting of the Senate left three courses: to capitulate, to resist or to resign. According to this way of arguing, capitulation would have consisted in altering the line of social and economic policy, while maintaining the government, a hypothesis on which it is not worthwhile dwelling here; resistance would have called forth "social unrest," particularly dangerous in consequence of the tense international situation, of the "dramatic external circumstances" as Leon Blum said in his speech at Bordeaux on July 4. Thus, goes the argument, there only remained to resign.

However, it is easy to realize that with a political majority of supporters of the People's Front movement in the country, any resistance and protest of the people against the intrigues of reaction at home, supported by foreign fascists, would have developed—despite the opportunity missed by Blum—into the same sort of forms of conscious and organized mass action as, for example, in March of this year when fascist provocation in Clichy was properly resisted.

The "constancy and solidarity of the majority" of the country united around the People's Front, to which Blum referred with such praise in his speech at Bordeaux, is not a factor making for disorder but, on the contrary, a very important force serving the cause of peace. On the other hand, at the present time it is more than clear that Leon Blum's resignation—at least in virtue of one of its immediate consequences—gave the advantage to the capitalist oligarchy in its struggle against the people; by allowing the wave of financial speculation to rise considerably higher owing to the ministerial crisis itself, it led to the new government adopting such measures as the "current" devaluation of the franc. Such measures can have an especially pernicious effect on the position of the mass of the working people.

It is clear that the Leon Blum government retreated in face of difficulties at a time when it could and should have fought against them.

It weakened and could have even undermined the government positions of the People's Front and what is more, at a moment when the political authority of the People's Front was stronger than ever. Thus the Leon Blum government showed its lack of faith in the strength of the masses of the people, who continued to rally to the anti-fascist struggle and to move to the Left.

On June 22 the radical newspaper *l'Oeuvre*, the important organ of the People's Front, was compelled to recognize this fact of the Leftward swing of the masses and to comment on it in its own way. It wrote that if the chamber were dismissed new parliamentary elections would give "a Left majority with a still more Communist tinge."

Before resigning, Leon Blum had sufficient time to acquaint himself with the results of the by-elections of June 20. These elections were a very noteworthy expression of the political development of the country.

The Hitler agent Doriot, the "Fuehrer" of the French Popular Party and trusted personage of the Brown House in France, figured on this day, together with some of his friends, as a candidate in the municipal by-elections in Saint Denis, which had long been regarded as

his personal stronghold. And what was the result? To the astonishment of many people, Doriot and his friends, on behalf of whom exceptional energy was expended in mobilizing all the forces of the reactionary bourgeoisie, obtained 4,000 votes less than the candidates of the People's Front, headed by the Communists, and suffered a crushing defeat. The same evening Doriot, under the pressure of the people, was compelled to resign his parliamentary seat, and public opinion already predicts that a Communist will be elected to his seat in parliament.

A serious political blow was dealt at Doriot and a similar blow was inflicted at the first extensive attempt he was about to undertake on a national scale—at the attempt to rally the forces of French fascism in an organization called the "Liberty Front," forces which are still scattered in several groups.

It turned out that the June 20 elections showed analogous political results everywhere. Whether we take the proletarian Ward No. 13 in Paris, or Ward No. 10 with its shopkeepers and petty bourgeois inhabitants, whether we take a town close to the Spanish border like Perpignan or some far distant isolated village, fascist reaction that day sustained losses, while the alliance of the democratic forces won successes everywhere. This was particularly the case with the Communist candidates, who registered a big increase in their votes. The workers expressed their joy at the victory over fascism in big demonstrations.

And yet it was precisely on this day that the Leon Blum government yielded to the maneuvers of fascist reaction, thus risking the creation of an unfavorable situation for the People's Front.

What position did the French Communist Party adopt at that tense moment of political difficulties? This position was expressed in the resolution of the Central Committee of June 15 which consists of four points.

The first point confirms the "unchanging loyalty" of the Communist Party "to the People's Front, the front of bread, peace and liberty." In the second point the resolution calls upon the masses to resist the financial measures demanded by reaction, which are contrary to the program of the People's Front. Then the demand is put forward for the realization of financial measures provided for in this program and, in case of need, for a democratic plebiscite of all the organizations of the People's Front on questions of financial policy.

Finally, the resolution says that "faced with the fierce attack of reaction, the Communist Party declares itself ready to undertake its full measure of responsibility in a government strengthened and made up after the fashion of the People's Front."

This declaration was made by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of France at a moment when the masses were greatly incensed against reaction, at a moment when a considerable part of the Social-Democratic workers were prepared to support the most energetic measures by the government against the maneuvers and blackmail of the financial oligarchy. At that moment of serious difficulties for the People's Front, the Communist Party demonstrated to the toiling people that it was prepared to give new guarantees of continuity and power for the People's Front representation in the government.

Although the fascist reactionary press surrounded the resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of France of June 15 with a plot of silence, while the government circles also failed to devote the proper attention to it, it will be no exaggeration to say that the industrial workers and working people generally united in the People's Front were highly satisfied with this resolution. It proved to be in accord with the decisions of big trade union organizations, which proves that it fully coincides with the will of the working people. For example, on the same day the Paris region Municipal Workers' Trade Union, with a view to securing the operation of a more energetic social policy, proposed "to raise the question of strengthening the present government in order to create a government embracing all the active forces of the People's Front."

The resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of

France constitutes a weapon which when used can create conditions for the resolute operation of the program which corresponds to the interests of the people. It is an expression of the Communist Party's endeavor to make it possible for the People's Front to carry out its task thoroughly, and for the well-being of the masses.

The movement of the masses burst forth anew thanks to the resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of France in which they saw a way out of *the difficulties of the situation*, a means of triumphing over the maneuvers of fascist reaction.

The new government was built on foundations different from those indicated in the resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of France. It was formed under the leadership of Radicals and proclaimed its loyalty to the program of the People's Front, and so the Communist Party immediately declared that it would support such a government in the fulfilment of a joint program. The masses of the people understood that there was no breakdown of the People's Front in France, that all the more was there no breakdown since the Leon Blum government had fallen not in consequence of what it had wanted to realize, the program of the People's Front, but, on the contrary, in consequence of the fact that it had not coped with the operation of this program in the sphere of taxation and finance, despite the will of the people.

The working masses displayed tremendous energy in expressing the conviction that the Chautemps government could and should be the second Cabinet based on the People's Front and brought together in order to carry out its program. A demonstration of 150,000 strong, organized in a few hours at the National Square on June 24, unanimously declared as one man in favor of the operation of the People's Front program by the Chautemps government which, in that event, could be confident of the support of the working people and their organizations.

At the same time tens of thousands of demonstrators greeted the resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of France, since they found that it pointed to the only way of resolutely overcoming the difficulties which fascist reaction had placed and would continue to place in the way of realizing the program of the People's Front.

When the new government took up its duties, it declared that it regarded the program of the People's Front as its own program and that it would not allow any encroachment upon the social legislation. It hinted at a more active foreign policy in defense of collective security, stating that "Peace is not purchased by concessions."

The government declared that it would fight against any deception of the taxation authorities, against speculation; it supplemented the 40-hour working week legislation by adopting a new decree extending it to hotel workers, despite the fierce resistance of the big employers. But at the same time it, in its turn, demanded financial powers, and everybody knows what that means after the week of political tension and frenzied financial speculation. That means, on the one hand, a new devaluation of the franc, "uncoupled" from the gold standard, and, on the other hand, new taxes amounting to from seven to eight million francs, part of which will be paid by the people.

In its turn fascist reaction has not laid down its arms before the new government. The fascist press of the *Croix de Feu* referred to the change of ministers as "leaps of a buffoon." The reactionaries loudly denounce the composition of the government. They are demanding a new "atmosphere," a "new moral discipline," *i.e.*, two things first and foremost, namely, the abolition of the 40-hour week and the cessation of collaboration between the government and the General Confederation of Labor, the isolation of the working class and their trade unions; the important newspapers of the employers, like the *Journee Industrielle*, are demanding that the working class be "taken down a peg"; they are demanding government repression against "the demagogic incitement of the Marxists."

In these circumstances, the Communist

parliamentary group again raised the question not from the viewpoint of the text of the law on financial powers, but from the viewpoint of general policy. The Communist group gave its votes to the Chautemps government, which secured exactly the same majority in the Chamber of Deputies as did the Blum government a year ago.

Now that the problem of the finances of the state has been brought sharply to the forefront, the working people are again remarking the fact that the Communist Party argued correctly and told them the truth. Once again, they are saying, the Communists have been right: for it was they who for three or four years without a break have been pointing to the bad state of the finances of the state, to the fact that the bourgeoisie want to make use of this situation to secure advantages in their struggle against the people.

It is precisely the Communist Party which during the last few years has brought financial problems to the forefront and proposed they be settled in democratic fashion; it drew attention to this in the Chamber of Deputies on June 9 of last year, it was the Communist Party that introduced a series of proposals in Parliament, showing that the way out was to make the rich pay. It put its proposals on posters which it spread to the smallest villages, it raised the financial question as one of the central points at the Party conference held in January of this year.

Last year even, certain Socialist ministers publicly poked fun at the Communists and said: "Just see what supporters of financial traditions the Communists have become. They are saying that money must be found by hitting at the rich in order to balance the budget, but there is no need to balance the budget. It is an obsolete, almost reactionary viewpoint." But now, these same ministers are introducing new thousands of millions of taxes, which are a heavy burden on the masses, for the sake of balancing the budget.

The masses will have to bear the burden of the consequences of the new devaluation. It was introduced once in September last year. That devaluation, according to the big bourgeoisie, was, by the way, to have led to a reduction in real wages. And the masses remember perfectly well that only thanks to the action of the trade unions, the best leading members of which are Communists, was it possible to avert a reduction in real wages: a movement was organized to raise nominal rates in proportion as the cost of living increased.

The Communist Party always pointed the way out of the financial difficulties. Our Party has nothing in common with those who ask themselves what increase there should be in indirect taxation, which lies so heavily upon the workers, or who ask what the basis should be for the conversion of bonds, thus hitting the small bondholders, who of course have not exported their scanty capital, not found any "haven of refuge" for it.

Our Party raises the question in another way. *Who*, it asks, *should pay:* the rich or the poor, the capitalists or the working people? This is how the problem is raised in the program of the People's Front. The Communist Party is organizing and will, together with those who subscribed to the program of the People's Front, organize the struggle of the masses against the increase in indirect taxes, for the realization of the financial demands of the People's Front. With the support of the movement of the masses united in the People's Front, the government, exactly reflecting all the forces of the People's Front, will be able to compel the rich to pay. The opportunity exists for developing a mass movement sufficiently powerful to change the structure of the income side of the French budget by curbing the resistance and intrigues of the fascist reactionaries who are striving to preserve their inordinate privileges.

* * *

In what condition are the forces of the People's Front entering the new period which has opened up after the June events? In particular what are the consequences of the line to which the French Communist Party is adhering in the face of the savage onslaught of reaction?

First and foremost the united front of the working class parties is becoming more and more solid. This is so even where the fear might have existed in the preceding months that it was breaking up. In such regions as Gironde, where the situation a few months ago left much to be desired from this point of view, joint resolutions were passed by the coordinating commissions of the Socialist and Communist Parties demanding "the creation of a government after the style of the People's Front, fully conducting the whole of its program."

A similar line on the question of the composition of the government met with the support of the Seine Federation of the Socialist Party during the last plenary session of the National Council of that party; when the vote was taken it was supported by one-quarter of the mandates of the entire party organization. But during the discussion a much bigger section of the organization spoke in this sense. Numerous resolutions adopted jointly or separately by workers, Communist and Socialist, testify to the fact that the desire for joint action on a still more consolidated basis and the desire to set up a united party of the working class are growing with every day that passes. This development can only be accelerated by the negotiations for joint action in defense of Republican Spain, which are being conducted in accordance with the appeal of the Spanish working class organizations, between the Labor and Socialist International and the Communist International, at the persistent and patient initiative of the latter.

It is to be hoped, in the circumstances, that the difficulties which during the long weeks of May and June prevented the coordination commission of the Socialist and Communist Parties from meeting will be quickly overcome thanks to the fraternal spirit which will dispel all misunderstandings. The Communist Party has put forward a number of proposals in the interests of the working class and the People's Front which is harnessing all forces for the struggle against the new difficulties.

To the extent that the united front and the link between the Socialist and Communist workers grow stronger, so also does the People's Front grow strong. Before the eyes of the whole country it completed the circle of the first year of struggle when the state was ruled in its name, on the whole, fairly successfully. It is not suffering from the fall of the government, which took place in consequence of the fact that it, the government, took the road of concessions and capitulation in putting into practice a part of its program. In June, the People's Front underwent a difficult trial and did not allow the reactionaries to demoralize it; it has become the property of the working class and the masses of working petty bourgeoisie, who will not allow the agents of the banks and monopolies to lay hands on it.

The trade union movement maintains all its might and as hitherto is devoting all its forces to the cause of working class unity and the People's Front. From the very beginning of the ministerial crisis, the general secretary of the C.G.T. clearly formulated the viewpoint of the Confederation by declaring to a reporter of one of the Paris evening newspapers: "Difficulties have arisen in the government. . . . The People's Front continues to function."

At a tremendous meeting held on June 24, devoted to the operation of the People's Front program by the new government, the General Secretary of the C.G.T. insistently emphasized—while recalling, in contrast, the sad experience of the coalition governments and the "lesser evil" tactics, pursued by Social-Democracy in Germany—that the People's Front is a progressive body, that its task is to guard and to develop democratic liberties, to improve the position of the working people, to strengthen the positions of the working class in economic and political life.

On the same day a representative of the C.G.T. with its 5,000,000 members once more expressed an opinion which coincided with the view of the Communist Party regarding the results of the so-called "policy of non-intervention" in Spain. These results were expressed in the fact that the danger of world

war had come still closer and become more menacing instead of growing weaker while the fascist aggressors had been given freedom of action to plunder and murder in Spain. The representatives of the C.G.T. energetically demanded that the governments of the bourgeois-democratic countries should reply to the provocation of Hitler and Mussolini by immediately ensuring complete freedom of action for themselves on the Spanish question.

At the Warsaw Session of the General Council of the International Federation of Trade Unions, which took place in the beginning of July and which demanded that international law be observed as well as freedom of trade, and the application of the League of Nations Covenant in support of the constitutional government of Spain, the respresentatives of the French General Confederation of Labor vigorously insisted on the need for counteracting the intolerable provocation of the fascist aggressors in Europe and on the need for international unity; they demanded the convening of bodies representative of all anti-fascist groupings throughout the world with the object of undertaking joint action in support of liberty and democracy.

The working class of France is wholeheartedly in favor of this policy, as testified by the behavior of the railway workers on the southwest frontier near Irun. There for a period of ten days they unfailingly fulfilled the directives of their trade union organization, which just at this time was concerned with the defense of their interests against fascist provocation, by refusing to run trains and connect electric current along the line leading to the territory occupied by the fascists; this in spite of the decision of the government to re-establish railway communication between France and Portugal via Irun and Burgos.

The so-called policy of non-intervention is fully unmasked and estimated at its proper worth, not only in the ranks of the working class, but also in those of the petty bourgeoisie, as a policy of deception fatal to peace and democracy. There is no doubt that now the Socialist workers are expressing themselves and will do so in this regard as resolutely as the Communist workers. Very wide strata of the petty bourgeoisie are indignant at the policy of national betrayal pursued by the French fascists who, from the very beginning, have cynically supported the insurrection and up to the present day support the fascist aggressors who are occupying Spain and menacing France.

The question of the policy of the Communist Party of France is in the forefront of the attention of the whole country, especially since the adoption of the Central Committee resolution of June 15. The Communist Party, which on May 31 of the present year numbered 322,000 members, has wider possibilities then ever of extending its authority and influence, of strengthening its recruitment and organization and of achieving the still wider mobilization of the masses through the People's Front and for the People's Front. On this mobilization of the masses depends the carrying through of the program of the People's Front.

It would, however, be a mistake to think that the fascist danger in France is diminishing; on the contrary, the reactionary bourgeoisie are placing intense reliance on fascism; their positions in the army and the state apparatus have not been weakened in the least, the more so since the preceding government altogether inadequately purged the army and state apparatus of fascist elements.

The successes of the French Communist Party are continually growing. During the recent period, the Communist Party has considerably increased its political prestige, but at the same time new difficulties and new struggles lie ahead in the execution of the People's Front program; in the case of the Chautemps government as well, the financial oligarchy intends to continue its bitter struggle against this program. Without being intoxicated by successes, and continuing to educate its forces and its active workers in the process of struggle, the French Communist Party will firmly lead the proletariat and the masses of working people, consolidated in the People's Front, to victory over united fascism, internal and external.

Whither the Capitalist World?

BY E. VARGA

IT IS not yet twenty years since the termination of the slaughter of the peoples; the generation which during the World War shed its blood at the front and starved in the rear still constitutes the majority of the population of Europe. Nevertheless a dress rehearsal of a new world war is already taking place in Spain; the latest types of instruments of death and destruction are already being tried out by the aggressors on the blood of peaceful women and children. And just as in July, 1914, the British Prime Minister puts the question in parliament: "Perhaps the peace of Europe can still be saved. . . ."

This sharpening of the imperialist contraditions to the level of the acute danger of an immediate outbreak of a new world war is taking place at a moment when the cyclical improvement in the economic situation of world capitalism is approaching its zenith. This improvement has not brought any calm into the political atmosphere, not to mention the new temporary stabilization so much hoped for by many reformists. In spite of the improvement in the economic situation, the big bourgeoisie—in the first place the bourgeoisie of the fascist countries—are more determinedly than ever aiming at securing a solution of their economic and political problems by unloosing a new world war.

Why has not the cyclical improvement in the economic situation of world capitalism served to discharge the political atmosphere; why, on the contrary, has it evoked a further intensification of all contradictions—to the point of fascist intervention in Spain and the acute danger of a new world war?

The decisive factors, in our opinion, are as follows:

A. *The slow tempo and insignificant degree of the cyclical improvement.* Industrial production in the capitalist countries at the present time has approximately attained the peak level of 1929.* *Capitalism required fully five years, counting from the moment when the crisis reached its lowest point in the summer of 1932,* to creep up again to the pre-war level. This was a result which in the pre-war period would have been reached in a few months, or at the outside in one or two years.

B. Capitalist world production at the present time is no higher than it was eight years ago! *In the eight years there has not been the slightest advance in respect to the volume of production.*** Yet in these eight years the population of the capitalist world, in spite of the de-

* Taking the League of Nations index *(Monthly Statistical Bulletin,* June, 1937, p. 243) for industrial production of the capitalist world in 1929 as *100,* we get the following:

1932, 62.6; 1933, 71.7; 1934, 77; 1935, 85.9; 1936, 96.2; 1937 (March), 102.6.

** Index of the volume of industrial production (1929 = 100) for April, 1937:

France, 75.3; Poland, 84.6; Austria, 92; Belgium, 91.1; Czechoslovakia, 93.2.

cline in the birth rate, has increased by some tens of millions; hence there is a smaller quantity of material wealth now per head of the population than there was eight years ago.

c. During these eight years one other very serious change has taken place, namely, the relative importance of the war industry at the present time is much greater than it was in 1929.

Expenditure for war purposes amounted in England (percentage of national income) to the following:*

1913	*1925*	*1937*
3½	3	6¼

If, in accordance with British sources, we assume that for the whole of the capitalist world military expenditure swallows up 3 per cent more of the national income than in 1929, it will be seen that the production of goods for consumption by the population is 5 to 10 per cent less than in 1929! This is one of the causes of the sharpening of the class struggle.

d. The cyclical improvement is taking place extremely unevenly in the various countries and branches of industry. A number of countries have not yet reached the 1929 level. Whereas the production of artificial silk, artificial wool and airplanes has considerably extended in comparison with 1929, the output of many products for mass consumption is considerably lower than this 1929 level. This also testifies to the low standard of living of wide masses of the population.

e. *The bourgeoisie clearly recognizes that the cyclical improvement in capitalist economy is transitory,* that a new economic crisis may break out in the near future. Not a trace is now left of the optimism of the bourgeoisie during the period of stabilization, when they chattered in the U.S.A. about "eternal prosperity," and when Hilferding predicted a new epoch of rising capitalism.

The serious bourgeois economic press, destined for a restricted circle of readers, and the British and American reports of the big banks, and at times even the daily newspapers, have during the last year once more been asking with dread how to prevent the passing of the present "revival" into a "boom,"* for every "boom" is followed by a crisis. Of course, the bourgeoisie is not able to find a satisfactory answer to this question. The proposals put forward, such as the cessation of public works and their resumption only when the crisis begins; the "sterilization" of gold in the U.S.A.,** etc., cannot alter the development of the industrial cycle, which is determined by the internal forces of capitalism.

A new industrial crisis is approaching which cannot be warded off by any means; it will break out before the preceding crisis has been finally overcome in a number of countries.

It is of course impossible to give an exact prediction as to when the new economic crisis will set in; the statistical data are too inadequate, there are too many factors of a political and social character that cannot be completely evaluated, and that may hasten or delay

* Calculations of the *Economist*, leading article of March 20, 1937: "On a War Footing."

* "Boom" is not a Marxist expression; in content it approximately coincides with that short interval of the industrial cycle that Marx designates by the expression "high tension," when prosperity seems to be maintained, whereas the goods thrown on the markets are no longer absorbed by the consumers, but pile up in wholesale and retail trade, *i.e.*, the months immediately preceding the open outbreak of the crisis.

** Proceeding from the absolutely incorrect view that "overstrung credit" leads to a "boom" and crisis, $900,000,000 were "sterilized" in the U.S.A., *i.e.*, it was forbidden to employ them as the basis for the further emission of bank notes or for providing credits. This is nonsense; it is not the sum of credit that determines the course of the industrial cycle; on the contrary, the industrial cycle determines the degree to which credit is required by the industrial and trading capitalists.

the outbreak. A whole series of data, however, exists which gives ground for thinking of the possibility of a new crisis in the next year or two.

Similarly it is impossible to predict *in which country* the new crisis will break out; the crisis will very likely begin, first of all, in those countries that were the earliest to touch the lowest point of the crisis of 1929, namely, Great Britain and Japan.*

Various symptoms exist in many countries. In regard to orders to England, for instance, the *Economist* of June 26, writes:

"Orders appear to have declined in a number of industries. . . . The figures of the value of building plans passed by 146 local authorities in May showed a decline of 28 per cent from those relating to the corresponding month a year ago. The decline affected not only dwelling houses, but also factories, commercial premises and public buildings. . . . A number of consumption goods industries, *e.g.*, cotton, wool, and jute textiles, have experienced a decline in new business."

In the U.S.A., the sale of consumers' goods is artificially stimulated by increased application of the deferred payment system. In 1936 the amount of goods bought on deferred payment was $9,000,000,000 as against $5,000,000,000 in 1929, and $2,500,000,000 in 1932, the instalment being paid in cash (see *The Index*, April, 1937, the monthly bulletin of the New York trusts). In Japan the rate of the growth of production has slowed down very much; export is encountering growing difficulties, etc. But the outbreak may follow in some other country because of some "accidental" political reasons.

The fascist rulers want to cure like by like; to forestall the advent of the crisis by unloosing a new world war.

One of the guiding motives of the warmongers is, without doubt, the dread of a new crisis and the hope of huge war profits.

But it would be narrow-minded economism to see the cause of the advancing war danger only in the menace of a new crisis. Far more important factors exist such as the deterioration of the conditions of the working people and the discontent among wide circles of the population arising therefrom, especially in the fascist countries; the sharpening of the struggle between the two systems; the contradictions of imperialism.

The 1929 crisis hastened the process of the centralization of capital to a still greater degree than did the preceding crisis; it ruined millions of independent producers, small and middle capitalists, while strengthening the positions of monopolist capital.* This is shown particularly clearly in the fascist countries, Germany, Italy and Poland, where the financial oligarchy undividedly rules the state: in these countries all capitalist undertakings and compulsory state-organized cartels are united, "outsider" concerns are prohibited, and the peasants are compelled to sell their products at low prices to the state-organized monopolies.

German fascist statistics have brought the distortion of facts to a high art. Nevertheless, they cannot entirely cover up the fact that the monopolies are robbing the peasants. For the middle of June, 1937, the official indices of wholesale trade prices (1913 = 100) reveal the following picture:

Cattle, intended for slaughter primarily sold by the peasants	87.2
Various kinds of fodder, primarily bought by peasants and sold by the agrarians	108.3

* Concrete signs of the ripening of the new crisis are the international stock exchange crash of April, 1937, and the fall in the prices of raw materials.

* The fact that during the crisis various enterprises went bankrupt which had previously been strongholds of monopolist capital (Kredit-Anstalt in Vienna, the Danatbank in Berlin, Kreuger in Sweden, etc.), does not, of course, alter the importance of the fact that monopolist capital as a whole has come out of the crisis with increased power.

Industrial articles of consumption bought by peasants and sold by the capitalists	132.9

But in democratic countries like the U.S.A., for instance, monopolist capital is laying its hands on an ever-growing portion of the income. One example will be sufficient to show this. Of the prices paid by the urban consumer for food, the American farmer received the following percentages:

1913.....56.5%
1929.....20.1%
1932.....34.9%
1934.....38.5%

The increase of production to the 1929 level has improved the conditions of the working class insofar as unemployment has declined, but chronic mass unemployment has by no means been eliminated.

*Number of unemployed in 32 capitalist countries. (in millions)**

1929	5.95
1932	26.40
1936	20.50

*Index of industrial production of the capitalist world.***

1929.....100
1932..... 62.6
1936..... 96.2

By further rationalization, by increasing the number of machines to be served by the individual worker, by increasing the speed of the conveyor, by merciless exploitation, monopoly capital today is wringing a considerable greater productivity of labor out of the workers than before the crisis.* Therefore, the same amount of products can be created with the help of a lesser amount of workers, which explains why mass unemployment continues in spite of the improvement in the economic situation.

The fact of the existence of mass unemployment contradicts, at first sight, the complaints of the capitalists concerning the lack of workers. But this is only a seeming contradiction. There are not enough skilled workers. Mass unemployment during the crisis dialectically produced this lack of skilled workers. An important bourgeois institutions** in the United States explains this phenomenon quite correctly as follows:

In ordinary circumstances 5 per cent of the skilled workers fall out annually in consequence of death and physical incapacity, making 25 per cent during the five years of crisis. During the crisis practically no new skilled industrial workers were trained. During long years of unemployment, many skilled workers were forced to take up unskilled labor on public works—and so they lost their skill! Many former skilled workers are unable to adapt themselves to the new technique of the labor process which has been introduced during the period of crisis. Thus, on the basis of the heavy unemployment which raged during the

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* *International Labor Review*, organ of the International Labor office of the League of Nations.

In actual fact the number of unemployed was considerably higher, but in this particular case we are interested only in the dynamics of unemployment.

** According to data of the League of Nations.

* The following table calculated on the basis of official and bourgeois sources shows the great increase in the productivity of labor per hour in American large-scale industry. (1923-25 = 100.)

Year	Index of Volume of Production	Degree of employment	Index of working time per week	Index of hours of labor per worker	Productivity of labor per hour
1920	87	108	100	108	81
1929	119	105	100	106	113
1936	105	92	83	76	138

Productivity per hour between the years 1929 and 1936 increased 22 per cent.

** National Industrial Conference Board: "Supplement for Conference on Board Service Letters," March 18, 1937.

crisis, there is today a lack of skilled workers, despite the fact that mass unemployment still remains.

The improvement on the labor market was utilized by the workers in the countries of bourgeois-democracy—France, the U.S.A., England—to obtain improvements in working conditions (partly by means of big mass struggles), shorter working hours, holidays with pay, etc.

On the other hand in the fascist countries terror prevented the workers from utilizing the improved situation on the labor market: *in Germany, Italy and Japan during recent years there has been an absolute impoverishment of the working class!*

Of course the present production of goods of wide consumption throughout the whole of the capitalist world is considerably lower per capita of the population than before the crisis; but as for the fascist countries which have already adapted their economy to the needs of war, where a considerably greater part of the national production is expended for war purposes and which have in fact been carrying on war for a number of years (Japan in North China, Italy in Ethiopia, Italy and Germany in Spain) this is true to a still greater degree. Absolute impoverishment can also be shown directly on the basis of statistical data. For example, the average wage of workers in Tokio increased between the years 1921 and 1936 by 3½ per cent; retail prices during the same period increased by 17 per cent.*

In Germany the official figure for the minimum subsistence level has increased since 1933 by 6 per cent (actually much more), while wages at best have remained at the former level, deductions have increased, and the intensivity of labor has increased considerably: here also the absolute impoverishment of the working class is a fact beyond question. In Italy official figures for the minimum subsistence level increased by 18 per cent between 1934 and 1937** whereas the increase in wages was only 10 per cent.

Conclusions: during the last eight years the power of monopolist capital has still further increased, its share in the values produced having increased at the expense of all the working people.*

Despite the cyclical improvement in the economic situation, this has led in fascist countries to the absolute impoverishment of the working class and working people in general, whereas in the democratic countries the working class has been compelled in hard battles to defend its standard of living against increase in prices brought about by monopolist capital.

The political consequence of this state of affairs has been the sharpening of the class struggle throughout the capitalist world. During the period of the general crisis, and particularly in view of the serious results of the last eight years for the working people, the bourgeoisie cannot claim that their special class interests coincide with the interests of the whole of society. It is no longer easy to acquire supporters by frank praises of capitalism. And so it is becoming more and more difficult for the big bourgeoisie to defend their interests within the framework of democratic parliamentarism. While the working people in democratic countries (France, the U.S.A.) are making an attempt to use parliamentary democracy in their struggle against monopolist capital, the financial oligarchy are turning more and more towards fascism.

Another political consequence of the sharpening of the class struggle is the swing to the Left in process in the ranks of Social-Democracy. The bitter experience of the last eight years has to a considerable degree undermined the confi-

* Data concerning wages: Tokio Chamber of Commerce. Data on prices: Mitsubishi monthly circular, April, 1937.

** *Monthly Statistical Bulletin*, June, 1937, p. 269.

* Thus, for example, in the United States, the net profits of 2,140 big companies (after deducting for taxation, interest, amortization) increased from $2,473,000,000 in 1935 to $3,633,000,000 in 1936; 270 enterprises which published their balance sheets for the first quarter of 1937 had $352,000,000,000 net profit against $230,000,000,000 in 1936. (National City Bank, Bulletin for April and May, 1937.)

dence of the working masses in the policy of class collaboration so highly praised by the reformist leadership of Social-Democracy and the trade unions. The Social-Democratic masses are more and more resolutely opposing the reactionary leaders' resistance to the united proletarian front. Under the pressure of their own working masses, the Labor and Socialist International is more and more taking the road of the united anti-fascist front.

If united action is brought about between the Socialists and Communists, between the Comintern and the Labor and Socialist International, it will render it possible to prepare a decisive blow against fascism. Fascism, as Comrade Dimitroff expressed it, is a ferocious but unstable power! The case of Germany is an especially clear example of this.

The petty-bourgeois masses in town and country, whose attitude towards National-Socialism in 1933 was so enthusiastic, are now disillusioned, embittered and dissatisfied. The social basis of German fascism (as of Italian fascism) has become considerably narrower. Actually German fascism is waging war on its people, on the proletariat, on the peasantry, on the Communists and Social-Democrats, on the Catholic and Protestant churches, on the Jews, and the civil servants of long standing. The discontent of the masses of the people is becoming more and more dangerous for the fascist regimes in Germany, Italy and Japan. In the fascist countries, in addition to the strivings of the big bourgeoisie towards a new division of the world there is the motive directed towards *deflecting the discontent at home* by inflaming jingoist sentiments, imbuing a war psychology and, finally, by war itself (Ethiopia, Spain).

It is precisely for this reason that the fascist countries constitute the chief center of the war danger.

The splendid achievements of socialist society in the U.S.S.R. are exerting a special influence on the moods of the masses of the people throughout the world and especially of the fascist countries. Let the fascist rulers fill their press with foul slanders and calumny about the U.S.S.R.; let them cast into jail those who listen in to the anti-fascist wireless stations; let them even confiscate every newspaper that prints true information about the Soviet Union—the truth nevertheless is making headway. The stronger the financial oligarchy becomes in the fascist countries, the higher evaluation do the workers put upon the fact of the overthrow of the bourgeoisie in the U.S.S.R. The more the workers and their organizations are enslaved, and the trade unions and Social-Democratic and Communist Parties are persecuted, the higher is the evaluation made by the workers of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the U.S.S.R. and the liberty it brings to the proletariat and the working people.

The more the working peasants suffer from the compulsory collection of their products, from high taxation, from the land hunger, the greater becomes their sympathy towards the land of Soviet power, where the peasantry have been given gratuitously 150,000,000 hectares of land previously held by landowners, where the indebtedness of the peasantry has been annulled, where the state places all its might at the service of the peasantry, and of their material and cultural progress.

The very fact of the existence and progress of the U.S.S.R. is an everlasting indictment against the want and oppression of the working people in the capitalist countries and, in particular, against fascism. Hence the growing hatred of the financial oligarchy and its fascist hirelings towards the land of socialism. They are attempting to unite the whole world for a crusade against the U.S.S.R. They would very much like to rush into war against the U.S.S.R. without delay. They know that the approaching new economic crisis will create still more unemployment than in 1932, will raise the want and fury of the working population to the level of revolutionary hatred, and will menace the further existence of their domination. Hence, the "anti-Comintern" alliance of the three fascist powers—Germany, Italy and Japan; hence the consistent efforts of the fascist powers to unite other countries—Poland, Jugoslavia and Hungary—

for the struggle against the U.S.S.R.; to create bases for themselves in all countries, in the persons of Doriot in France, Degrelle in Belgium, Henlein in Czechoslovakia, Franco in Spain, etc.; hence the repeated proposals they make to the big bourgeoisie of the democratic countries—England and France—that they will not violate peace in the West if they are given a "free hand" in the East.

The efforts of the fascist warmongers to provoke war against the U.S.S.R. are being retarded by various factors, namely, the peace policy of the Soviet Union, the strength of the Red Army (which has increased still further since the discovery and destruction of the spies who had wormed their way into high positions), the growth of the anti-fascist forces in the democratic countries, the economic weakening of the fascist countries which are already suffering from the want of the most important raw materials and foodstuffs; the hostile attitude towards the fascist-regime of the overwhelming majority of the population; the readiness of the best forces of the working class voluntarily to give their lives for the struggle against fascism, as shown by the example of Spain.

Military specialists in Germany are asking themselves the question: what can a mass army do against a "foreign" foe if chronic warfare is being conducted inside the country against the population from whose ranks the army is recruited? How can such an army, however well it may be equipped technically, fight successfully against the Red Army of the Soviet Union, or against an army led by the People's Front? The fascist rulers of Italy and Japan find themselves asking the same question; and it has to be remembered that a military defeat for these countries would without the slightest doubt mean the end of the fascist regime, and possibly the end of the rule of the bourgeoisie in general.

And so the bourgeoisie of the fascist countries—where the general crisis of the capitalist system is most profound—are confronted with an insoluble dilemma. The approaching new economic crisis will shake to the roots their economy which, as it is, stands on a weak foundation; will add still further fuel to the discontent of the toiling masses, and still further intensify the danger of the revolutionary overthrow of the regime. But if the fascist rulers want to avoid the outbreak of a new economic crisis by launching a new world war, they will thereby again be staking not only the fascist regime, but the domination of the bourgeoisie itself.

Mass Unemployment in the Capitalist Countries and the Tasks of the Trade Unions

BY A. LOZOVSKY

WITH the beginning of the year 1937, industrial production in the capitalist countries has stepped beyond the 1929 level, *i.e.*, that of the last pre-crisis year. And yet, unemployment still exists today on a mass scale in all the capitalist countries, for all that there has been some decrease in the unemployment figures. The number of unemployed is two to two and one-half times the figure in the last pre-crisis year. This is the chronic unemployment, known as structural unemployment, which is characteristic of the whole period of post-war capitalism.

How are we to explain this constant mass structural unemployment? It is to be explained by the extreme sharpening of all the contradictions inherent in decaying monopolist capitalism; by the devastating consequences of the world economic crisis of the years 1929-34; by the fact that the industrial and agrarian crises coincided, and that the peasantry and petty bourgeoisie were ruined; and also by the increased intensification of labor and a cruelly operated rationalization.

Mass unemployment also exists in the fascist countries (Germany, Italy, Japan) where the economy is placed at the service of war or war preparations to a greater extent than anywhere else. It is also to be found in the non-fascist capitalist countries where the index of industry has passed beyond the 1929 level or is near to it, and where it does not depend to such an extent upon economic factors of a war character, which, however, do play a considerable role in the "revival" (England, the U.S.A.); finally, mass unemployment exists in those countries where the volume of industrial production has not yet reached the 1929 level (France, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Belgium).

Eloquent proof of this is to be found in the official data concerning the amount of unemployment in the most important countries.

	Number of Unemployed	
	1929-30	*1936-37*
England	1,238,000	1,689,000
U. S. A.	2,000,000	6,832,000
Germany	1,990,000	1,853,000
Italy	300,000	964,000
Austria	192,000	382,000
France	10,000	447,000
Czechoslovakia	42,000	668,000
Poland	129,000	339,000
Japan (1930) ..	369,000	325,000
Holland	24,000	419,000
Denmark	45,000	156,000
Switzerland ..	8,000	105,000
Sweden	33,000	68,000
Norway	19,000	36,000
Belgium	13,000	60,000
	6,412,000	14,443,000

Thus, the total number of unemployed has more than doubled as compared with 1929 and, taking only 15 countries, amounts to about 14,500,000.

But official data present a far from complete picture of unemployment. In certain countries the statistics do not take certain categories of unemployed into account. In others—this refers first and foremost to the fascist countries—the government authorities deliberately gave false information concerning unemployment (Germany, Italy, Poland).

In England some hundreds of thousands of unemployed in receipt of relief, as well as several hundred thousand unemployed married women, are not included in the official unemployed figures. In the U.S.A., official statistics do not include several million unemployed engaged in various forms of public works. The American Federation of Labor estimates that the actual number of unemployed in the country is between eight and nine million. In Poland, the Minister of Public Relief admitted in November, 1936, that there were 600,000 unemployed. It is clear from irrefutable calculations that there are millions of unemployed in fascist Germany. In India, China, Egypt and Brazil there are millions of unemployed, concerning whom statistical data are either altogether nonexistent or are extremely incomplete.

Thus, the actual amount of unemployment throughout the world is far in excess of the official data provided by bourgeois statistics.

Neither did the increase in capitalist industry eliminate partial unemployment. In France, for example, the number of hours worked in December, 1936, amounted to 71.9 per cent of the average monthly amount of hours worked in 1931. In Germany only 69.8 hours out of a possible 100 were worked in November, 1936. In Poland, in November, 1936, the number of hours worked was 87.7 per cent of the average monthly figure for 1929. In the U.S.A. the average number of hours worked weekly per worker in 1929, 1932, July, 1936, and November, 1936, was 48.3, 34.8, 39.2 and 41.3 respectively.*

Unemployment weighs down heavily upon the proletarian youth. Millions of young men and women are doomed to unemployment before they have even tasted the "joys" of work in capitalist enterprises.

By the beginning of the year 1937, there were about 4,000,000 unemployed young people in the U.S.A., not counting 3,000,000 "surplus" young people in agriculture.* Yet, despite this great unemployment among the young people, the number of children under fifteen years of age in employment amounted to one million.

In England there are numerous groups of young working people swelling the ranks of the unemployed who receive the miserable unemployment benefit of 15 shillings a week. As a result of the Means Test this benefit has been considerably reduced. Hundreds of thousands of youths, upon leaving school, can find no work in the factories and mills. There is an entire army of young workers engaged in so-called blind-alley professions, which require no skill (trading, hotels, restaurant). Thousands of young workers are engaged in the cotton spinning industry without any hope of ever becoming skilled workers. Thousands of young lads are engaged in the mining industry as drivers and loaders, and receive the mere pittance especially fixed for young workers.

In Germany, Italy and Poland, where the governments are making intense preparations for war, the young unemployed are used as reinforcements for the army and the fascist military organizations.

In Italy, the fascist government is extensively drawing the young unemployed into the colonial troops and forming them into entire divisions of "volunteers," who are then sent to Spain to fight against the Spanish Republic.

In Poland, where, according to the calculations of bourgeois economists, the number of young unemployed is in the

* *International Labor Review*, February, 1937, pp. 256-257.

* *The Communist*, U.S.A., February, 1937.

vicinity of 2,000,000, the problem of unemployment among the youth has also been transferred to the War Office.

In Germany Hitler has militarized the whole of the youth, a considerable section of whom has been taken into the army. Tens of thousands of young unemployed have been dispatched to forced labor camps, and thousands sent to Spain to help General Franco's fascist gangs.

UNEMPLOYMENT AND CAPITALIST RATIONALIZATION

A feature to be observed in all the capitalist countries, with the exception of France*, is that the increase in the number of employed workers lags behind as compared with the increase in industrial production. Let us give a few examples:

1929=100%	*Level of Industrial Production*	*Index figure of number of workers employed***
England	113.4	109
Germany	112.7	100
U.S.A.	95.8	91.4
France (1930=100%)	70.3	75.4
Japan	150.0	118.0

(Data for the last months of 1936)

These "scissors" between the growth of production and the increase in the number of workers are to be explained by the increased capitalist rationalization carried through during the years of crisis at the expense of the workers. The productivity of labor per worker increased primarily as a result of the intensification of labor in which capitalist rationalization inevitably expresses itself. Of course, rationalization is not the only cause of the continued mass unemployment but, side by side with other causes, it to a considerable degree determines the existence of mass chronic unemployment where industrial production is on the increase.

As shown by the statistical data of Great Britain, France, the U.S.A. and other countries, there are considerably more middle-aged workers (40-45 years and over) among the unemployed than among the employed. This is primarily the result of rationalization, under which elderly workers are thrown out of industry before the others.

Thus, side by side with the youth who have no trade, there are also groups of skilled workers who because of the "age limit" also suffer severely from unemployment.

Let us quote a few examples to give and idea of the increased rationalization which took place in the capitalist countries during the crisis years.

In Germany, if the 1925 level is taken as 100, industrial production in the middle of 1936 equalled 123; the number of hours worked 90; and the output per man-hour, 138.* In the U.S.A., if the year 1923 is taken as 100, in 1936 the volume of industrial production was a little over 100; the number of hours worked equalled 65, and the output per man-hour, 160.**

The organ of the German Metal Workers' Union in Czechoslovakia, the *Internationaler Metallarbeiter*, wrote as follows in No. 47 for 1936, concerning rationalization in the heavy industry of Czechoslovakia:

"In our big mining and industrial concerns, rationalization and mechanization did not cease even during the crisis years. This means that not only was a considerable reduction achieved in the cost of production, but also an increase in the productivity of labor by 15-20 per cent."

In No. 36 for 1936, the same paper writes:

"Whereas in May, 1936, output declined by 31.5 per cent as compared with

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* In France the number of employed workers is increasing partly at the expense of the gradual introduction of the 40-hour working week.

** *International Labor Review*, February, 1937.

* The German Quarterly of the Konjunktur Institut, December, 1936, Part A, Folio 3, page 278.

** *Ibid.*

1929, the number of unemployed for the same period increased from 2,254 to 61,363. *This proves that methods of production have undergone colossal changes and that rationalization has taken on unprecedented dimensions in the factories and mills.*"

A few facts from the sphere of rationalization in British industry are characteristic. For example, mechanized coal-cutting in the year 1913 accounted for 8 per cent of the total output of coal, whereas for 1929 and 1935 the figures were 28 per cent and 51 per cent respectively. In 1923, 1,230,000 men were employed, whereas in 1936 the figure was 621,715.

The increase in the number of industrial workers lags behind that of industrial production to a greater extent in Japan. If we take the index of industrial production in Japan for 1928 as 100, in 1935 it equalled 193; and for the first nine months of 1936, 209; the index of workers employed, taking 1926 as 100, equalled 99.9 in 1935, and 104 in the first nine months of 1936. This points to a rise in the productivity of labor of no less than 100 per cent. The doubled productivity of labor was attained at the cost of increased intensification.

In the name of "competition" the capitalists lower the wages of the workers and cut down costs of production. To this end they increase the intensity of labor, increase exploitation, and cut down the number of workers. This is a common feature in all the capitalist countries.

In consequence of the monstrous intensification of labor an increase of trauma is to be observed in industry, an increase in occupational diseases, and the rapid physical exhaustion of the workers. And so, in capitalist conditions, the rationalization of industry becomes the curse of the working class. Rationalization makes the factory a hell for the employed worker. But even this hell is something which the worker, thrown out of industry and doomed to forced idleness, starvation and physical degeneration, can only dream of.

UNEMPLOYMENT AND THE 40-HOUR WORKING WEEK

The mass chronic unemployment which continues in spite of the growth of capitalist industry, the crisis rationalization and the intensification of labor have confronted the working class of the capitalist countries with the question of the struggle for a shorter working week.

In France, after the victory of the People's Front, a decree was published establishing the forty-hour working week. Between November, 1936, and the middle of January, 1937, the 40-hour working week legislation came into force in a number of branches of industry (coal, textile, metallurgy), covering a total of about 4,500,000 workers. The transition to the 40-hour working week is not taking place simultaneously throughout the whole of industry. For example, in the coal and iron-ore industries it was introduced at the beginning of November for those working underground, and at the beginning of December for those working at the surface; in the metal industry it was introduced at the beginning of December; in the building industry at the middle of December; in the textile industry at the beginning of January, etc.

The employers are trying their utmost to postpone and sabotage the transition of the factories to the 40-hour working week, and in many cases are purposely refraining from taking on new workers in the hope that the legislation will be changed in the direction of worsening the conditions for the workers. Cases have taken place where the employers have held back the increase in production, provoked the men to take strike action, turned down orders, retained raw materials and goods in their warehouses, in a word have done their very utmost to prevent the operation of the legislation for the 40-hour working week.

In Great Britain the demand for the introduction of a 40-hour working week is being put forward with growing persistence by numerous trade union organizations. Negotiations have already

been opened with the employers on this question. The A.S.L.E.F. has gone to arbitration on the question of conditions of labor on the railways and with a demand for a 36-hour working week. The National Union of Railwaymen, which is an extremely influential mass union, includes among the immediate demands in its program the demand for a 40-hour working week as the first step towards winning a 36-hour working week.

In the U.S.A., Roosevelt included the demand for the 40-hour working week and as a maximum the 45-hour working week in industry in his N.R.A. legislation. In some parts of the country the workers have obtained the establishment of a 40-hour working week, but as is well known, the U.S. Supreme Court rescinded the N.R.A. legislation. At its last Congress held in Tampa, in December, 1936, the A. F. of L. advanced the demand for the establishment of a 30-hour working week. In view of the fact that in the U.S.A. there are millions of unemployed, coupled with the most widespread rationalization introduced in American industry during the crisis, the workers on the railroads, in the automobiles, textile, steel and other industries are demanding the introduction of a 30-hour working week.

The question of the 40-hour working week was discussed at the conference of the International Labor Office in Geneva in June, 1936. By 79 votes against 48 the conference adopted a draft convention establishing the 40-hour working week for workers engaged in public works financed or subsidized from the central governments. As for the 40-hour working week on private buildings, the draft convention did not obtain the required majority of two-thirds of the votes. The conference also discussed the question of introducing a 40-hour working week in the iron and steel industries, but this draft also did not obtain the necessary majority of votes.

The preliminary draft convention which provides for the introduction of a 38.75-hour week in the coal industry also failed to obtain a majority. The Conference of the International Labor Office held in June, 1937, discussed the question of the 40-hour working week for the chemical and printing industries.

However, even if the convention for the curtailment of working hours had been fully accepted, it would nevertheless have required tremendous efforts on the part of the working class to get it put into practice, for the decisions of the International Labor Office are not binding. *The working class will succeed in obtaining a shorter working week without a reduction in wages only by their own efforts, by energetically conducting the class struggle, by way of stubborn political and economic battles and the establishment of a united proletarian and people's anti-fascist front.*

At its July Congress, held in London in 1936, the I.F.T.U. advanced, side by side with demands for a struggle against the crisis, the demand for the cutting down of the working week to 40 hours by means of international conventions.

However, as can be seen from the resolution passed on this question, the leaders of the I.F.T.U. are themselves doubtful as to whether the workers will achieve the 40-hour working week without a reduction in wages and by peaceful means through the International Labor office.

Side by side with the reduction of the working week to 40 hours, the prohibition of overtime work is also of great importance. Overtime work today is widely practised chiefly in the fascist countries: Germany, Italy, Poland and Japan. In the last named, overtime work is practised in the coal, textile and steel industries. In Germany and Italy it is practised in the ferrous metallurgical and war industries.

For many countries, especially the colonial countries and Japan, the beginning of the 48-hour working week will be a big step forward as compared with the existing situation under which the workers are engaged for 60-90 hours a week.

At the same time it should be pointed out that the reduction in the working

week cannot serve as a panacea against the crisis and mass unemployment, for the capitalists generally compensate themselves for any reduction in the working week by increasing the intensification of labor, introducing new machinery to shorten the labor processes, and rationalizing the production processes, thereby creating a constant reserve army of unemployed. Only by following the example of the U.S.S.R. and replacing the capitalist mode of production by socialist planned economy will unemployment be eliminated and every worker guaranteed the right to work.

THE UNEMPLOYED MOVEMENT

Although the movement of the unemployed workers diminished at the end of the world economic crisis, it still frequently takes on very acute forms in individual capitalist countries.

In the U.S.A. the unemployed workers' movement is concentrated around the Workers Alliance, which represents a federation of unemployed workers' organizations in different towns and states. The Workers Alliance holds mass demonstrations of unemployed workers, leads strikes of unemployed engaged on public works, convenes conferences, and sends delegations to Washington, etc. The largest of the recent mass unemployed demonstrations in which 25,000 people participated took place in New York on January 9, 1937. Similar demonstrations took place also in other states in connection with the election of a delegation to Washington. This delegation was to present Roosevelt with the demands of the unemployed workers in connection with the curtailment of the budget for the public works on which about 3,000,000 unemployed workers are engaged.

An especially characteristic feature of the unemployed workers' movement of the U.S.A. is the strikes carried out on public works, for increased wages, reduced working hours, the right of unemployed workers to be employed at their own trades, and not far from their homes. In many cases these strikes of the unemployed workers end in the demands being satisfied.

The stormy character of the action taken by the unemployed under the leadership of the Workers Alliance forced Roosevelt to assign quite a considerable sum of money for public works, in spite of the opposition of the reactionary representatives of finance capital.

The unemployed movement in the U.S.A. is developing on the basis of a united front of all progressive elements in the working class movement. Despite the wrecking and provocative work of the Trotskyists, this unity is being successfully set up. John L. Lewis, leader of the C.I.O. (Committee for Industrial Organization), has approved the program of demands of the Alliance and promised it his support. Although William Green, the reactionary leader of the American Federation of Labor, has expressed his solidarity with the demands of the Workers Alliance, the A. F. of L. has not yet rendered the Alliance any assistance in the struggle against the cutting down of the budget for public works.

The National Unemployed Workers' Movement (N.U.W.M.) is the organizer of the struggle of the unemployed workers in Great Britain. The hunger marches and demonstrations of unemployed workers aroused the activity of the working masses and drew many trade union and labor organizations attached to the united front bodies in various towns and districts to defend the interests of the unemployed.

In 1935 the unemployed workers won a great victory when they forced Parliament to pass a decision postponing the operation of the new legislation concerning unemployment insurance (actually the postponement continued for twenty-two months). The unemployed march in November, 1936, called forth a huge movement against the worsening of the position of the unemployed in all parts of the country. In many towns united front committees were established to welcome the hunger marchers, and hundreds of working class organizations

joined the united front with the National Unemployed Workers' Movement. In London leading working class organizations for the first time gave their support to the unemployed marchers. The London Trades Council and the London Labor Party, headed by Morrison, sat on the Reception Committee established at the initiative of the N.U.W.M. Prominent Labor Party leaders, such as Attlee, spoke on the same platform as Communists and leaders of the N.U.W.M. at a huge meeting in Hyde Park.

Thus, the fact that the N.U.W.M. actively defended the interests of the unemployed led in fact to the first results in setting up the united front. But the N.U.W.M. is still far from having exhausted all the possibilities of overcoming the opposition to the united front on the part of the reactionary elements in the trade unions. The prestige won by the N.U.W.M. over long years of the persistent and self-sacrificing defense of the interests of the unemployed considerably facilitates the task of setting up a broad movement *in every town and every district* on the basis of the united front in defense of the demands of the unemployed.

Unity among all unemployed workers' organizations will facilitate and hasten the development of a powerful movement for the organization of work of social value for the unemployed in the "distressed areas," for technical training and re-training of unemployed under the control of the trade unions, for the abolition of the Means Test, for the 40-hour working week, etc.

Before November, 1936, the unemployed workers' movement in France was led by the local and district committees. It was only in November, 1936, that the Conference of Unemployed in Paris adopted a decision to set up a National Unemployed Organization. What is above all characteristic of the unemployed movement in France is the great initiative displayed by the local unemployed committees in the creation of mutual aid committees and in the organization of dining rooms for unemployed workers, etc. These committees are elected by the unemployed themselves, and advance demands for increased benefits, for the extension of unemployment pay to cover as wide a circle of unemployed as possible, for the unemployed to be freed of the payment of rent, for the establishment of a National Unemployment Aid Fund, and for the rapid elaboration and operation of big public works schemes for the unemployed.

The struggle for all these demands is led by the Association of Unemployed Committees of the Paris region. On September 12, 1936, an enlarged plenum of the unemployed committees of the Paris region was held in Paris. In its resolution, the plenum expressed its confidence in the government, but at the same time put it on record that the increase in unemployment pay did not correspond to the increase in the cost of living, and demanded that a number of specific measures be adopted, measures which were later made the basis of the demands of the National Conference of Unemployed. This Conference took place on November 13-15 and was attended by 174 delegates representing 200,000 unemployed. The conference centered its main attention upon the need for providing the unemployed with work, and particularly upon the realization of the plan of large-scale public works. The conference adopted a resolution regarding the organization of a "Central Office for Contact Among the Unemployed of France," *i.e.*, in effect, regarding the establishment of a national organization of the unemployed movement in France.

In Germany fascism suppresses the unemployed movement by means of terror and subtle organizational measures. For example, in order to prevent the unemployed from meeting at the labor exchanges and exchanging views, the requirement of regular attendance of the unemployed at the Labor Exchanges in order to have their cards marked has been abolished. Beginning with 1934, the young unemployed have been forced to take part in the building of arterial roads and in other similar works.

The fact of the establishment of trade union unity in a number of capitalist countries in Europe creates new possibilities for combining the movement of the unemployed with the struggle of the employed workers under the leadership of the trade unions.

THE UNEMPLOYED AND THE REFORMIST THEORY OF "PLANNED ECONOMY"

The London Congress of the International Federation of Trade Unions which took place in July, 1936, put forward among other demands the slogan of "planned economy."

Even before this the I.F.T.U. at its Brussels Congress in 1933 had proposed "by means of the planned transformation and planned reconstruction of the whole of economy to find a way out of the economic crisis and out of the economic and social ruins of the old world."

A few months after the Brussels Congress the I.F.T.U. drew up plans of the national economy in Belgium, Switzerland, France, and later in Czechoslovakia, Esthonia, Holland, Poland, etc.

In the middle of April, 1937, the I.F.T.U. called a conference in Paris of experts on "planned economy" with a view to elaborating the following questions for the June session of the Executive Committee of the I.F.T.U.: national economic plans and their operation; preventive measures against crises; raw materials. Schevenels, Secretary of the I.F.T.U., devoted a special article to this conference, entitled *The Overcoming of the Last Crisis and the Struggle Against the Oncoming Crisis*, in which he declared:

". . . Beginning with the spring of 1936, world output surpassed the highest level of the year 1929. In spite of this fact, not only are there countries still in the depths of the crisis, but there are also millions of unemployed throughout the world. In view of this state of affairs, the question is being asked, not without alarm: when and how can we avoid the coming crash? The economic planning conference of experts of the I.F.T.U., called for April 14 and 15, 1937, in Paris, will deal with this problem first and foremost. . . ."

A number of Right-wing Social-Democratic and trade union leaders make demagogic use of the slogan "planned economy," spreading illusions about the possibility of planned economy under capitalism, countering the revolutionary overthrow of the power of the bourgeoisie with the slogan of "planned economy" as an alleged peaceful way to socialism. The "big" slogan of "planned economy" actually conceals the resistance of these leaders to the *concrete* struggle for the economic interests of the working people. There is not the slightest doubt that the "revival" in the campaign for "planned economy," as Schevenels' article clearly shows, is called forth by the tormenting fear of a new economic crisis which, of course, certainly will come and will shake the entire capitalist system to a still greater extent than the crisis which broke out in the year 1929.

But while fighting against illusions about the possibility of having planned economy under capitalism, all progressive elements in the trade union movement are duty-bound, in the interests of the working class, actively to support those sections of the "planned economy" program, which follow the line of the specific defense of these interests (public works, the 40-hour working week, etc.), and to strive to secure their realization on the basis of the struggle of the trade unions and of the united front.

THE UNEMPLOYED MOVEMENT AND THE TRADE UNIONS

What are the most important tasks now arising in the struggle for the interests of the unemployed workers?

First and foremost, not to allow the fascists to obtain control of the unemployed movement. The fascists recruit the unemployed workers into their storm detachments for definite payment, they organize kitchens, dining rooms for the unemployed, in some countries give relief, etc. The fascist bandits must not be

allowed to penetrate into the ranks of the unemployed and make use of the starvation and legitimate discontent of the many millions of unemployed in the interests of reaction.

But our fight against the influence of fascism over the unemployed must not be one of words alone. We can only free the unemployed of fascist influences and unmask fascist demagogy if we energetically and stubbornly defend the elementary interests of the unemployed. Increased unemployment benefits, reduction and postponement of rents, dining rooms, free training for the children of unemployed, free medical attention and many other practical questions that interest and cause anxiety to the unemployed worker and his family, should occupy the center of the attention of the proletarian organizations.

It is easiest of all to unmask fascist demagogy in the course of the struggle for the most vital demands of the unemployed (increase in the unemployment benefits, increase in the funds allotted to public works, improvement in the condition of labor of workers engaged on public works, etc.), combining it, as our French comrades do, with the struggle for the taxation of big capital. The active participation of all the organizations in the united front, especially the Communist and Socialist municipalities, can ensure the best possible organization of this struggle. At the same time extensive ideological-political work of an explanatory kind should show the sufferings and miseries experienced by the unemployed and employed workers in all countries where the fascists are in power.

The Communists have not proposed to the unemployed that they reject any aid offered to them by the various kinds of reactionary bourgeois organizations for demagogic purposes. But Communists consider it necessary to fight against the fascist and bourgeois ideology of reconciliation to capitalist actualities, to fight for control by unemployed and employed workers over the finances of organizations giving aid to the unemployed, over the distribution of products among the unemployed, in particular, in cases where the funds of these organizations are augmented at the expense of contributions paid by the workers and other sections of the population (for example, "winter aid" in Germany).

It is particularly important to wage a systematic struggle against the spread of chauvinist ideology and war propaganda among unemployed workers by fascist-bourgeois reaction. From the testimony given by many Italian prisoners in Spain, it is obvious that the fascists make use of hunger as a weapon of imperialist policy, by enticing the youth with "patriotic feats," *i.e.*, wars of aggression. "If we have a big army, if we have colonies, there will be no unemployment"—such is the sense of this agitation and propaganda carried out by German and Italian fascism. Insignificant material aid to the unemployed is accompanied by unbridled nationalist agitation and propaganda.

We must not underestimate the influence of this propaganda. We must not think that it does not affect the starving unemployed who are seeking for work. This propaganda does offer some sort of way out. True, it is a false way out, but only the class-conscious workers understand that, whereas many of the unemployed have not yet done so.

This propaganda has its effect, and therefore, in working among the unemployed, it is necessary to pay particular attention to the struggle against the war psychology, brute nationalism, and so on. The example of Manchuria and Ethiopia can be used to prove to every unemployed worker how false are the fascist promises and fascist demagogy. Mussolini promised the Italian unemployed bread and work after the conquest of Ethiopia. Ethiopia has been "conquered," but the workers sent there are dying in thousands, while in Italy itself there is no decline in unemployment.

On no account either must we allow the unemployed movement to be isolated from the movement of the employed workers. Although unemployment has declined in a number of countries, every

worker knows that he may find himself unemployed tomorrow. By their own efforts alone, the unemployed cannot obtain an improvement in social insurance for the unemployed. Only if the struggles of the unemployed and employed workers are organizationally combined, are united, if the unemployed are given constant help and the unemployed movement is given daily, systematic help by the trade unions, can the main demands of the unemployed be satisfied.

In France the united trade unions give assistance day in and day out to the unemployed committees. In England the trade unions still continue to care mainly only for their members, while many reactionary leaders of the trade unions not only fight against the National Unemployed Workers Movement, but give extremely little support to the unemployed association which they themselves have set up. In England a typically bureaucratic attitude exists towards the unemployed on the part of the trade union leaders (Citrine and others) who care most of all to prevent the unemployed movement from violating bourgeois law and order. In the United States the unemployed movement is in need of more help from the trade unions than has been afforded up to date.

In those countries where the Ghent system exists, *i.e.*, where a definite percentage of the relief paid out by the trade unions to their unemployed members is covered by the state, the trade unions are faced with the need for carrying on a still more vigorous fight to increase this proportion and for the full transfer to the employers and the state of the expenses connected with rendering aid to the unemployed. In those countries where there are Social-Democratic governments, the united working class front, united action can compel the bourgeoisie to cover the cost of unemployment relief, which ought not to be at the expense of the workers themselves and their trade union organizations. In those countries where there are coalition governments, as in Belgium and Czechoslovakia, the position is exactly the same. Only the mass movement of the unemployed, both the organized and those not organized in the trade unions, can lighten the position of the unemployed.

The chief demand of the working class is that aid to the unemployed be at the expense of the state and the employers. But this does not mean refusing to make use of the legislation existing in a number of states, even if the aid afforded applies to an extremely restricted circle of unemployed. Here less than anywhere else is the "all or nothing" formula suitable. We must make our starting point what we have already, and fight incessantly for the legislation and aid to the unemployed to be extended, financial aid to be increased, for all the unemployed to be covered by this aid, and for all the burden of unemployment insurance to be laid upon the state and the employers. Of tremendous importance in linking up the unemployed movement with the movement of the employed is the struggle to establish and to carry into practice the 40-hour working week.

It would be extremely harmful if the organizational forms of the unemployed movement were built up on one model. Account should be taken of the historical peculiarities of each given country, of the traditions of the working class movement, of the peculiar features of the trade unions and their relative importance in the country; we must take account of all the relations of class forces. It would be futile to create unemployed organizations in France on the lines of the British National Unemployed Workers' Movement. It would be still more absurd to imitate the organizational forms of France or the United States in the fascist conditions of Germany and Italy. In the strictly conspiratorial conditions of the fascist countries, for example in Germany, where the police adopt special measures to prevent the unemployed from meeting even at the Labor Exchange, the work has to be built up differently from that in other countries and even in a country like Poland, where, despite the fascist regime,

the unemployed can meet together, although within restricted limits.

When organizing committees, alliances or councils of the unemployed, it is necessary to bear in mind that the unemployed workers are a fluctuating element. Therefore, the freer, the broader the organizational forms, the better. No cut-and-dried, universal schemes, but organizational forms adapted to the social and political conditions of the given country.

Real aid can be afforded to the unemployed only in the event of the trade unions not only obtaining control over the employment and dismissal of workers, but also of securing that workers sent by the trade unions obtain the first chance of getting work.

This problem is a specially sharp one in countries where there is a mass trade union movement. England, France, the U.S.A., Czechoslovakia, etc., belong to this category. In France, the workers flocked into the united trade unions, and there are elected stewards in every mill, in every workshop.

Striving to crush this mighty growth in the trade union movement, to belittle the role and importance of the trade unions, the employers as an act of provocation dismiss all the representatives of the trade unions, elected delegates and so on, dismissing and engaging workers at their own discretion. They resort to dismissals as a means of sabotaging the social legislation and undermining the national economy. They complain of the lack of skilled labor for the introduction of the 40-hour week and at the same time frequently refuse to employ workers over 40 years of age, and sometimes workers under 40 (regarding them as "too old").

In France, the question of engaging and dismissing workers is not only a question of providing the unemployed with work (however serious it may be in itself), but a question of strengthening the position of the trade unions, of the struggle against the provocation of the employers, of the creation of such a situation in the factories where the workers stand firmly by their trade unions.

The British trade unions have in a number of branches of industry achieved a strong position in this sphere. But this chiefly concerns dismissals; as for the engagement of workers, the trade unions fight for only organized workers to be taken on to work. But the fact is that only in a few branches of industry are the majority of the workers organized. Thus, even the British trade unions have not raised the question in all its magnitude of employing all workers sent by the trade unions; and yet the question is ripe in England just as it is in a whole series of other countries.

If the trade unions win their rights, they will be in a better position to defend the interests of the unemployed, and the unemployed movement will be linked up organically with the trade unions, and not merely formally, through representatives, through joint sessions, etc.

One of the most serious problems is that of the unemployed youth, the question involved here being as to who will obtain the backing of the majority of the young generation of workers: reaction or democracy, fascism or anti-fascism. In order to ensure results from this work among the unemployed youth, it is important for the trade unions to pay special attention to this. The trade unions must help the young workers to obtain general and professional training, and also political education; then the young unemployed workers will become one of the militant detachments of the working class in the struggle against fascism and war.

The question of public works should on no account be removed from the order of the day, since unemployment will still continue in the future to be of a mass character. It is no seasonal question. In spite of the attempts to place work of a purely war character under the heading of public works, it is essential to work out a concrete plan of truly socially useful works (roads, house building, public buildings, irrigation, etc.).

In elaborating the plan of public works it is essential to provide in it for

questions of the payment of labor, of living conditions for the workers (if the work takes place out of town), control of public works by the trade unions, etc.

Undoubtedly the unemployment movement has weakened during the last few years. There are, of course, objective reasons for this, namely, a section of the workers have been absorbed in the industrial process. But the chief reason for the decline in the unemployed movement is the fact that the proletarian organizations are not sufficiently active, that the opinion is current that the unemployed movement is losing its urgency in connection with a certain economic advance.

The proletarian organizations should never forget that in circumstances of capitalism, and especially of the general crisis of capitalism, millions and tens of millions of "superfluous" people will be thrown out of the industrial process, that these tens of millions of people need help and that if the trade unions fail to give them the attention they deserve, many starved, desperate unemployed people may become tools in the hands of the fascist bandits in their struggle against the working class movement.

A Year of the Heroic Struggle of the Spanish People

BY GEORGI DIMITROFF

FOR a whole year now the Spanish people, in the front line of the struggle against world reaction and fascism, have been manfully defending their liberty and independence and thereby safeguarding the interests of democracy, culture and peace against the fascist barbarians and warmongers. It may be asserted without any exaggeration that after the great October Revolution this heroic struggle is one of the most considerable events of the post-war political history of Europe.

When on July 18 of last year the telegraph announced the rebellion of the fascist generals against the Spanish Republic, nobody could think that the civil war which was stirred up by the fascist scoundrels would continue so long. Both the friends and enemies of the Spanish people, each in their way, counted on a very rapid conclusion of the war.

In a few days the fascist rebellion was crushed by the Spanish workers and the people's militia in the most important centers of the country. Madrid and Valencia, Barcelona and Bilbao, Toledo, Malaga, Alicante and Almeria, almost all the important cities of Spain, were in the hands of the Republican government.

In launching a struggle against the democratic conquests of the Spanish revolution and basing themselves at the beginning of the rebellion mainly on the counter-revolutionary officers whom the people hated, on the Moroccan troops and Foreign Legionnaires, the rebel generals met with the armed resistance of all the forces of the Spanish revolution, of the entire Spanish people, united in the ranks of the People's Front around the Republican government.

There can be no doubt whatsoever that had there been no intervention by the fascist states, had Hitler and Mussolini not placed their arms, air force and regular troops at the disposal of the rebel generals against Republican Spain, the Spanish people would long ago have cleared their country of the fascist aggressors. The now well known facts go to prove that the rebel generals would never have dared to undertake a war against the Spanish Republic altogether had they not been inspired to do so by the fascist states. Actually, this bloody plot against the Spanish people was hatched and organized in Berlin and Rome.

The fascist warmongers made use of the counter-revolutionary generals so as to lay their hands on Spain, on its wealth, on its raw materials for the war industry, and so as to establish themselves in the Mediterranean Sea for the new imperialist war they are preparing. Hitler and Mussolini apparently calculated that Generals Franco and Mola, who acted as their tools, would be able in a few days to seize Madrid, to dissolve the Republican regime and to present them with rich booty in the shape of so-called "national" Spain. There can

be no doubt that they were also strengthened in this conviction by the fact that despite the repeated and insistent warnings of the Spanish Communist Party the Republican government of that time did not take any radical measures against the plot that was being prepared by the counter-revolutionary generals, and could have been taken unawares. Mussolini and Hitler hoped that fascism could achieve victory in Spain without meeting with any serious armed resistance on the part of the masses of the people, as was the case in Italy in 1922 and in Germany in 1933.

All these calculations, however, turned out to be radically false. Spain proved to be too hard a nut for the teeth of fascism. The Spain of 1936 was not the Italy of 1922, nor the Germany of 1933. The fascist rebellion in Spain broke out after the first victory of the democratic revolution of the Spanish people, after the Spanish proletariat and the masses of the people had drawn the lessons from the events in Italy, Germany and Austria, after the foundations of the anti-fascist People's Front had already been laid. By overthrowing the medieval monarchy and establishing the parliamentary-democratic republic, the Spanish revolution gave rise to an inexhaustible source of the forces of the Spanish people in the struggle against the counter-revolution, which wants to bring back the old regime of the landlords and financial oligarchy so hateful to the people. In view of this, for the Spanish people the struggle against the fascist rebellion is indissolubly bound up with the maintenance and development of the democratic conquest of their revolution against the regime of medievalism and obscurantism, against the landowners, against the thoroughly decayed aristocracy and the counter-revolutionary officers.

Having become convinced of the inability of Franco to secure victory for fascism with the aid of the Moroccans and the Foreign Legion, the fascist states themselves took over the conduct of the war against the Spanish Republic. There are actually units of the German and Italian armies, their artillery, tanks and planes around Madrid and Guadalajara, on the southern and northern fronts, pitted against the valiant Republican army and engaged in demolishing cities, destroying villages and deluging the land of the Spanish people in rivers of blood. The fleets of the fascist states blockade Spanish ports, bombard and demolish sea towns. Madrid, Guernica and Almeria will forever remain in the minds of progressive mankind as ill-omened memorials of fascist barbarism.

And the greater the confidence in the righteousness of their cause the greater the energy and enthusiasm with which the Spanish people carry on the struggle, the more they strengthen the Republican army, close their ranks and eliminate weaknesses and defects in the conduct of the war after each new act of provocation by the fascist interventionists, the more cynically do Hitler and Mussolini increase their intervention, openly declaring that they will not permit the existence of a Republican Spain. In plain talk the recent articles of Mussolini amount to the unbridled and cynical thesis that: Spain must be a fascist colony, otherwise it will be transformed into ruins.

In the light of these facts it is difficult to find pages in modern political history recording behavior more shameful than the behavior of the decisive Western capitalist states, which proudly call themselves democratic, in relation to the Spanish people and their struggle for liberty and independence. At the very time when before the eyes of the whole world the fascist interventionists are openly engaged in a predatory war in Spain, these countries, and primarily Great Britain, have been engaged for practically a year in the farce of "non-intervention" in Spanish affairs. Even after Hitler and Mussolini have rejected the so-called international control, those who guide British foreign policy still continue to seek compromise formulas of agreement with the brazen fascist interventionists.

The League of Nations, the statutes

of which contain a special clause regarding sanctions against the aggressor, providing specifically for cases analogous to the present armed intervention of Germany and Italy against the Spanish people, maintains an obstinate silence.

Although it is clear that should the fascist interventionists succeed in enslaving Spain they will not hesitate to instigate rebellions like that of Franco in Czechoslovakia, Austria, Denmark, Belgium and other countries, the League of Nations, chiefly under the pressure of Great Britain, studiously avoids taking any decision on the Spanish question which would guarantee the international rights of the constitutional government of Spain. Thereby it actually spurs on the fascist interventionists and aggressors. The democratic United States of America, headed by Roosevelt, maintains the position of an unperturbed "observer." The efforts of the Soviet Union, which stands resolutely and consistently on the side of the Spanish people, to induce the non-fascist states to pursue a firm and insistent policy in relation to the fascist interventionists, so as to secure to Republican Spain its lawful rights and the opportunities of defending itself against onslaught and of being sovereign master in its own country, have not as yet led to positive results. The selfish interests of the big capitalists and the financial cliques in Great Britain, France and the U.S.A. still continue to dominate over not only the interests of the Spanish people and of the maintenance of peace, but also over the real interests and future of their own peoples.

Thus a strange picture is presented which should compel every worker and every supporter of democracy and peace to think things over seriously. At the very moment when the fascist states are acting in agreement against the Spanish Republic, when Berlin, Rome and Tokyo are planfully, step by step, preparing a new predatory world war, when the increasing intervention by Mussolini and Hitler in Spain is accompanied by the provocation of the Japanese militarists on the Amur, and by military operations in North China, the governments of the big Western states are engaged in endless discussions regarding the bankrupt "non-intervention" and "control" plans and are pursuing an ostrich policy in relation to the frenzied interventionists and warmongers who recognize no limits.

One must not think that the policy of the ruling circles of Great Britain, France and the U.S.A. on the Spanish question and on the question of maintenance of peace corresponds to the sentiments, feelings and will of the overwhelming majority of the peoples of these countries. It is precisely for this reason, in order to justify their policy, that they are constantly attempting to frighten their peoples with the thought of the war which they allege will be precipitated by the fascist states if the non-fascist states and the League of Nations take resolute action against the interventionists.

But it is quite clear to everyone who knows the actual international situation, the situation in the fascist countries themselves and the relation of forces between the supporters of peace and the warmongers, that this is nothing but cheap playing on the anti-war sentiments of the broad masses. For in so far as the fascist states are concerned the conquest of Spain is one of the most important prerequisites for the world war which they are preparing. Giving them the opportunity of entrenching themselves in Spain means helping them to increase their preparations for war, helping them to transform that country into a base for an attack on France, helping them to strengthen their military strategic positions in the Mediterranean.

The real truth of the matter is that a defeat of the Spanish people would increase the threat of war a hundredfold and considerably hasten the precipitation of a war on the part of the fascist aggressors. A victory for the Spanish people, on the contrary, would raise a new barrier in the way of the precipitation of war. Everyone who is seriously

desirous of maintaining peace must do all in his power to ensure that the fascist interventionists are driven out of Spain as rapidly as possible and that the Spanish people are able to secure their liberty and independence.

Even such an admirer of Hitler as Lloyd George could not deny this truth. Speaking recently on the Spanish question in the House of Commons he declared: "It is said that if we display firmness in relation to Berlin and Rome, there will be war. I say to you that if we do not display such firmness, war will surely take place."

One of the most important reasons that make it possible for the non-fascist Western states to occupy such a position of toleration toward the fascist interventionists and Pilate-wise to wash their hands is undoubtedly the circumstance that the international proletariat has not as yet succeeded in acting unitedly and preparedly for the fulfilment of the main demands of the Spanish people, namely: *the immediate withdrawal of the interventionist armed forces of Italy and Germany from Spain; the lifting of the blockade from the Spanish Republic; the recognition of all the international rights of the lawful Spanish government; the application of the statutes of the League of Nations against the fascist aggressors who have attacked the Spanish people.*

These demands, which in the main were advanced by the Communist International soon after the fascist rebellion in Spain, were also proclaimed later by the Labor and Socialist International, and undoubtedly are the demands of every class-conscious worker and every honest supporter of peace. The international proletariat is without a doubt on the side of the Spanish people, against the fascist rebels and interventionists. It has displayed and continues to display its solidarity with the Spanish fighters not only by rendering material aid and by supplying food and medical assistance, but by giving a number of its best sons, who are fighting in the Republican army around Madrid, Guadalajara and at the other fronts.

However, all this is far from sufficient. The international labor movement, its political and trade union organizations, cannot consider its duty toward the Spanish people and the defense of peace fulfilled until it has seen to it that international rights are secured to the Spanish Republic and the fascist intervention in Spain is stopped. To achieve this it is necessary to intensify the solidarity campaign on behalf of the Spanish people in all countries. It is necessary to mobilize all forces so as to render impossible the policy of toleration in relation to the fascist interventionists.

It is essential to realize that in this connection the main role in Europe is being played by Great Britain, and therefore a special responsibility for the fate of the Spanish people, for the maintenance of peace, rests with the working class of Great Britain, with the people of Great Britain. It is impossible to tolerate the scandalous situation wherein the Labor leader Lansbury makes his obeisances to Hitler and Mussolini with an "olive branch" in his hand, while Citrine, General Secretary of the Trade Union Council, echoes the songs of Chamberlain and Eden, designed to lull public opinion in Great Britain, at the very time when the fascist hordes of Italy and Germany are shedding the blood of the Spanish people and demolishing Spanish cities and villages.

If the Spanish people and international peace are to be effectively protected, *joint and concerted action on the part of all the international organizations of the working class is absolutely essential.* Let it not be said that such concerted action is impossible. True, there are a number of obstacles in the way. There are leaders and groups in the Labor and Socialist International and in the International Federation of Trade Unions that, out of considerations which have nothing in common with the interests of the international proletariat and the Spanish people, oppose joint action by the international working class organiza-

tions, and even threaten to leave the Socialist International if an agreement regarding joint action with the Communist International is adopted.

But can such a situation be regarded as something fixed once and for all and not subject to alteration? It is necessary to overcome obstacles and not to capitulate before them. The interests of the international proletariat and the cause of the defense of peace, which coincide absolutely with the interests of the Spanish people, must be placed above all personal and group considerations.

The meetings between the representatives of the Communist International and the Labor and Socialist International in Annemasse and Paris have shown that both sides are at one in the main demands for the defense of the Spanish people and the maintenance of peace. Why, then, not do the only thing that can rapidly and surely lead to the fulfilment of these demands—organize united action by the international working class organizations and proceed to the joint utilization of all the reserve forces at the disposal of the world labor movement?

On the anniversary of the heroic struggle of the Spanish people, in face of the ominously increasing fascist intervention in Spain and the new Japanese aggression in North China, this question rises most acutely before each working class organization, before every person who is active in the labor movement, before all supporters of democracy and peace, and demands a practical solution.

During a year of uninterrupted and tense fighting the Spanish proletariat has succeeded in defending the conquests of the democratic revolution, in strengthening unity in the ranks of the People's Front, and in securing the establishment of a heroic people's republican army, half a million strong. It is clearing the way for its united political party and for the unification of its trade unions, and working steadily to secure all the domestic conditions necessary for final victory over fascism.

The Spanish proletariat, headed by the Communist Party and marching in the front ranks of its people, is honorably fulfilling its duty in the front line of the struggle against world reaction and fascism. The international proletariat on its part must fulfil its duty in relation to its glorious Spanish detachment in full.

The Communists, while intensifying their own action in defense of the Spanish people and of peace in every way, *will not therefore cease to point still more persistently to the imperative need for establishing united action on the part of the international labor movement, nor will they cease to fight with all their energy to bring it about as rapidly as possible.*

Fascism Is War

BY GEORGI DIMITROFF

TWO years ago, in August, 1935, the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, in analyzing the international situation and seeking ways and means whereby the working class could carry on the struggle against the offensive of fascism, pointed to the indissoluble connection between the struggle against fascism and the struggle for peace.

Fascism is war, declared the Congress. Coming to power against the will and interests of its own countrymen, fascism seeks a way out of its growing domestic difficulties in aggression against other countries and peoples, in a new redivision of the globe by unleashing world war.

As far as fascism is concerned, peace is certain ruin. The preservation of international peace renders it possible for the enslaved masses in the fascist countries to gather their forces together and to prepare for the overthrow of the hated fascist dictatorship, and to enable the international proletariat to win time for the establishment of unity in their ranks, to rally together the supporters of peace, and to establish an unsurmountable barrier in the way of the outbreak of war.

When the Seventh Congress characterized fascism as the firebrand of war, when it pointed to the growing danger of a new imperialist war and to the need for establishing a powerful united fighting front against fascism, there were very few people even in the labor movement who did not hesitate to accuse us Communists of deliberately and for purely propagandist purposes ascribing this role to fascism, and of exaggerating the war danger.

Some people did this consciously, in the interests of the ruling classes, while others did so out of their political shortsightedness. The past two years, however, have provided a sufficiently clear demonstration of the complete absurdity of such accusations.

Now both the friends and foes of peace are openly speaking of the menace of a new world war which has come on us. And it would also be difficult to find serious-minded people who at all doubt that it is precisely the fascist governments that are foremost in the desire for war.

In actual fact, war is already going on in various countries. For one year already, both the Italian and the German interventionists have been carrying on a war against the Spanish people before the eyes of the whole world.

After having accomplished the seizure of Manchuria, the Japanese fascist militarists are now again attacking the Chinese people and are carrying on a new war in North China. Manchuria, Ethiopia, Spain, North China—these are stages toward the new great robber war of fascism. These are not isolated acts.

There exists a bloc of fascist aggressors and warmongers—Berlin, Rome, Tokio. The German-Japanese agreement "against the Communist International," an agreement which, as is well known, is of a military nature and to which Mussolini had in fact also linked himself, is already being applied in practice.

Under the flag of struggle against the Communist International, against the "Red menace," the German, Italian and Japanese aggressors are trying by means

of partial wars to seize military-strategic positions, key positions on land and naval routes, and sources of raw materials for their war supplies with a view to unleashing further imperialist war.

There is no need to be under any illusions, there is no need to wait for a *formal* declaration of war, to see that war is now on. As far back as March, 1936, Comrade Stalin, in his interview with Roy Howard [head of the Scripps-Howard newspaper chain], said:

"War may break out unexpectedly. Nowadays wars are not declared. They simply begin."

All events of recent years serve as a glaring confirmation of this thesis. Without officially declaring war, Japan opened military operations against China and seized Manchuria, Italy attacked the Ethiopian people and seized Ethiopia, and Germany and Italy are waging war against the Spanish Republic. It is well known that the people have no desire for war, and that a number of non-fascist states are, in the present conditions, interested in maintaining peace. On what, then, do the fascist war-makers base their calculations?

The entire experience following the robber drive by the Japanese imperialists into Manchuria and by Italian fascism into Ethiopia shows unquestionably that the bandit bloc of the rulers of Germany, Japan and Italy, in order to carry out their military plans in practice, are striving first of all to hinder *united action* by the states interested in the maintenance of peace; secondly, to prevent unity of action by the international labor movement, the establishment of a mighty united world front against fascism and war; thirdly, to carry on undermining diversionist and espionage work in the Soviet Union, which is the most important buttress of peace.

It is on this chiefly that the fascists base their calculations. And in actual fact the fascist aggressors and warmongers are working strenuously and jointly in these three directions. They are blackmailing the Western European states by threatening their territorial interests. They are preparing an onslaught on the U.S.S.R. They are making extensive use of the toleration of the ruling circles of Britain, France and the United States.

While making proposals for an agreement on the plundering of the small countries, Spain and China, they are striving in every possible way to win the good graces of the British Conservatives and a number of Liberal and Labor leaders, so as to win Britain away from France and other democratic countries. Holding out a similar lure, the fascists are exerting unbelievable efforts to come to an agreement with the French reactionaries in regard to French resignation from the Franco-Soviet pact, thus isolating it from the Soviet Union.

The fascist states left the League of Nations to get a free hand for their aggression. They terrorize the weak states by threatening attacks from outside, and by organizing conspiracies and rebellions within these countries.

The fascist warmongers make use of traitors, and particularly of the Trotskyites, to carry on disruptive, disorganizing work in the ranks of the labor movement, to disrupt the People's Front in Spain and France. The recent putsch in Barcelona gave a particularly clear demonstration of how the fascists make use of Trotskyist organizations to stab the People's Front in the back.

The fascists also make splendid use of the work of the opponents of international proletarian unity in the ranks of the Second International and the International Federation of Trade Unions, and assiduously recruit their agents everywhere.

But, as was disclosed at the recent trials of Trotskyists and spies, the fascist aggressors have put forth special efforts to send Trotskyist agents into the great land of socialist victories to carry on disruptive work there. The fascists calculated that if they succeeded in undermining the power of the Soviet Union, the most loyal guardian of peace, then the success of their military plans of aggression would in the main be assured.

Hence one can understand the furious howl set up by the fascists and their tools at the merciless wiping out of the traitors to the great land of socialism by the organs of the dictatorship of the working class, supported by the entire Soviet people. The exposure and wiping out of the fascist agents, terrorist wreckers and spies in the land of socialism strengthen its economic, political and military might, break up the sinister plans of the fascist scoundrels, and thereby help to strengthen peace.

This has been the most powerful and crushing blow dealt to the warmongers in recent times. It is an exceptionally important contribution to the struggle to maintain peace throughout the world. On more than one occasion the Soviet Union has upset the war plans of the fascist aggressors by its consistent and resolute peace policy. It can be asserted without any exaggeration that mankind would long ago have been hurled into the most terrible war in history had not the Soviet Union been insistent and unswerving in carrying through its peace policy, had there been no glorious Red Army in existence.

But while the fascist aggressors meet with necessary rebuffs from the Soviet Union, which is acting in the interests not only of the Soviet people but also of the whole of toiling mankind, this cannot be said of the countries of bourgeois democracy. Here, as is being demonstrated with particular clearness by the examples of Spain and China, we meet with the overt and concealed assistance being given to the fascist bloc by the ruling circles of the most important Western non-fascist states. Was it not support for the fascists when the seizure of Manchuria by the Japanese militarists was met with toleration? Was not the lack of resolute resistance to the bloody campaign of Mussolini against the people of Ethiopia encouragement to the fascist aggressor?

Take the entire farce of non-intervention in Spanish affairs, which has already been carried on for a year under the leadership of the British government, and the negotiations going on regarding the recognition of Franco as a "belligerent"—are they not in fact an encouragement to the war being waged by the fascist states against the Spanish Republic?

Is not the present complacent attitude toward the brazen marauders in North China the most scandalous encouragement to the unbridled Japanese militarists, who wish to enslave the great Chinese people?

How can the peoples of Great Britain, France, the United States and the people of other non-fascist countries look on calmly at these things? How can they put up with this systematic toleration and encouragement of fascist aggression, which facilitates the foul work of the fascist firebrands of a new world war?

In the face of these things, it becomes still clearer how great is the historic responsibility which lies on those circles and leaders of the Labor and Socialist International and the International Federation of Trade Unions which are stubbornly resisting the establishment of united action by the international proletariat, of action by its organizations, on the basis of a united, agreed-upon policy against the fascist war-makers, of the establishment of a mighty international front of peace.

When the Japanese militarists seized Manchuria, there were people claiming to be leading lights in the labor movement who assured the workers in their organizations that Manchuria was a long way off and the Japanese invasion did not touch on the interests of the international labor movement.

When Mussolini's fascist hordes crushed the Ethiopian people, these individuals asserted that the events in Ethiopia were a local colonial conflict and that the international proletariat ought not to interfere. When later on the fascist aggressors brazenly attacked the Spanish Republic and began a war within Europe itself, it was only after many months of tormenting vacillations that the leaders of the Second International agreed to a joint conference with the delegation of the Communist Interna-

tional at Annemasse, and yet not for the purpose of actually bringing about united action between the international workers' organizations, but only to recognize the advisability of joint action "where it is possible."

Since then the fascist intervention in Spain has been considerably intensified. And now there has been added the new aggression of the Japanese militarists in North China, which, according to Japanese plans, is to become a second Manchukuo and the basis for a further seizure of China.

Is it not clear that at this moment, when the Spanish people are exerting all their efforts to beat off the onslaught of the fascist interventionists, when the Chinese people are rising up against the Japanese militarists who have attacked them, the international workers' organizations should at least unite their efforts and come to the defense of international peace, resolutely and fully prepared for action?

The situation is now developing in such a way that to maintain peace throughout the world means first and foremost to bring about the defeat of the fascist invaders of Spain and China.

They must be taught a good lesson, they must be really made to feel that the international proletariat and all progressive and civilized mankind will not tolerate their military aggression and acts of robbery, and are ready to do everything to prevent them from fulfilling their plans of igniting the flames of a new world war.

Can it be that the Labor and Socialist International and the International Federation of Trade Unions will rest content now with general, wordy declarations and incantations in favor of peace, while in deeds they shun joint action by all organizations of the international labor movement, which is so vitally needed?

Surely it is clear that joint action by the international workers' organizations in each separate country and on an international scale is alone capable of mobilizing the forces of progressive mankind for a struggle against war, to bar the road to the warmongers, and also to exert pressure on the official policy of the most important non-fascist states to curb the fascist aggressors who have thrown off all restraint.

It is impossible to carry on a serious struggle for the maintenance of international peace unless first and foremost all necessary steps are taken to establish a united front of the working class in each country and united action by the international workers' organizations. It is impossible to carry on a serious fight for peace unless the forces of the labor movement and of the wide masses of the people are mobilized to drive the fascist usurpers out of Spain and China as rapidly as possible.

The relation between the forces of war and the forces of peace is not what it was in 1914. Tremendous world historical changes have taken place since that time. The imperialists succeeded in casting millions of people into the inferno of a world slaughter when circumstances were such that neither a powerful proletarian state nor its Red Army existed, when there was no People's Front in France and Spain, when the Chinese people were not in a position to defend their national independence, when the masses of the people had not had the experience of the imperialist war and the great proletarian revolution, when the international working class did not as yet possess such a world organization as the Communist International.

The international labor movement has sufficient forces and means at its disposal to bring about the cessation of the intervention of German and Italian fascism in Spain, the onslaught of the Japanese militarists in China, and to secure international peace.

This, however, requires that the tremendous forces and means at the disposal of the international labor movement be united and directed toward an effective and unyielding struggle against fascism and war.

The Time Has Come to Create a Single Party of the Proletariat in Spain

BY DOLORES IBARRURI

THE present plenum of the Central Committee of our Party* has assembled in order clearly, concretely and decisively to raise the urgent question of unity, of the fusion of the Communist Party and Socialist Party, to achieve the formation of a single party of the proletariat. Such a party, armed with the mighty theory of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin, will be the basic guarantee of the victory of the people, and be the leader of the people's revolution.

Unity is now passionately desired by all the fighters at the front; it is the indispensable unity of the most conscious, militant and heroic forces of the proletariat in a single class party; it is the unity of all proletarians in a single trade union congress; the political consolidation of the democratic and republican forces of the petty bourgeoisie; it is the unity of the entire Spanish people, so as to satisfy the burning desire of tens of thousands of fighters who in the trenches and on the fortifications have merged their efforts and thoughts in the single general call to "conquer fascism, win the war, and with it the revolution."

Unity! This is the passionate cry of all who are fighting at the front, the endeavor of all those who want to see their country flourishing, freed from the clutches of fascism.

And yet how many obstacles there are on the road to the realization of unity! We know that to bring unity about is no light task, that there will be times when some of our comrades, on coming up against the egoism and petty interests of sectarian groups, will think "well, would it not perhaps be better, since our party is the basic political force in the country, for it alone, relying on the devotion of the wide masses of working people in town and country, by its own efforts to bring to a conclusion and solve all the revolutionary problems arising out of the situation." But should such sentiments exist anywhere they should be eradicated; all our comrades must be made to understand the correctness of the Party's policy in regard to unity, so that they may firmly defend our position.

We wish to achieve a single party of the proletariat. And our Party, which does not depart from the firm ground of reality, cannot ignore the existing revolutionary possibilities and qualities contained in groups of workers who belong to other organizations, and above all the Socialist Party. Nor can it forget the Anarchist currents which with every day that passes are more and more adopting political activity by the proletariat and can be drawn into the orbit of the action of a single proletarian party, forming a constituent part of it.

WE ARE ENTERING A NEW PHASE OF THE WAR

We are entering a new phase of the development of the war and of the

* Report of Comrade Dolores at the June Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Spain, published in abridged form in the *Frente Rojo* of June 21, 1937.

people's revolution in our country. We can assert that although we consider the present period one of the most difficult in our war, and do not forget the tragic position of Biscay; and although the fascist intervention is increasing its occupation of our territory, doubling the dispatch of men, weapons and all kinds of war materials, we can assert that the issue of the civil war has in the main been decided in our favor; this is on the condition, of course, that German and Italian fascism in their unrestrained attack on the liberty and democracy of peoples do not go as far as open war against our country, something which would undoubtedly be equivalent to the outbreak of world war.

The decisive factor in achieving victory is that we have already almost established a regular army.

We have at our disposal the necessary equipment for the development of a war industry which can grow rapidly and satisfy the needs arising out of supplying the large army we are establishing. We also possess the necessary technicians and workers for the wide development of the war industry.

And if we add that we have a government of the People's Front, ready to maintain order in the rear with all the necessary firmness, and to undertake the basic transformation of the economic life of the country, so as to guarantee the tranquillity and well-being of the masses, we can correctly assert that we are entering a new phase of the development of our struggle.

Who could have thought at the beginning of the war that we would have more than half a million men under arms? And this figure is continually growing. At the various fronts there are hundreds of thousands of men who have to be fed, clothed and provided with arms and munitions, so that they can continue the war and accelerate our victory.

We must rapidly organize our production, not limiting ourselves to the mobilization of the means at our disposal at the outset of the military-fascist rebellion, but introducing new methods of work so as uninterruptedly to increase production, to improve and rationalize it.

To avoid the disorganization and chaos in production which arise from the "socialization," "collectivization," or "syndicalization" of each factory, workshop, or petty enterprise, our Party is carrying on a persistent struggle for the nationalization of the main branches of the country's industry. A problem that brooks of no delay is that of producing more and better, of stimulating the increase of the productivity of labor. This will be achieved not by petty-bourgeois leveling down, by equality of wage payments. More intense production can be achieved only by introducing the system of higher wages for greater productivity.

Our chief care, in face of the disorganization of our economic life resulting from the military-fascist rebellion, is to guarantee the maximum of agricultural products regardless of the forms of production, whether individual or collective.

Our Party consistently defends collective labor, including collective labor in the village, because it permits the use of machinery, fertilizers and large-scale irrigation, thus guaranteeing the growth of production and easing the labor of the peasantry. But this collectivization, this work in common, must be brought about by the clearly expressed will of the peasants and must never be violently forced on them.

We have a government which aims at creating, both at the front and behind the lines, the conditions for winning the war and guaranteeing the development of the people's revolution as rapidly as possible.

Further, and this is the most essential thing, we have a Communist Party which has grown numerically and politically into a powerful force. We can declare with pride that we have in our ranks 301,500 members on the territory of the Republican government, not counting 64,000 members of the United Socialist Party of Catalonia, and 22,000 in Biscay. And these figures are not fixed once and for all, but have a tendency to continual growth.

But although our Party is strong, al-

though everybody is compelled to recognize its decisive role in ensuring rapid victory in the war and revolution, we must liquidate as quickly as possible the existing split among the forces of the working class and achieve the formation of a single great party of the proletariat which would be the undisputed vanguard of the entire working class, the leader and guide of the entire Spanish people.

TWO WAYS OF GUIDING PROLETARIAN POLICY

In order to understand the correctness of our political line, we must review two methods of guiding proletarian policy. No one who is not blind can fail to see the decisive role played by the great Socialist October Revolution in the struggle against world reaction and fascism. How much hatred, how much hostile criticism have been accumulated against the Bolsheviks for their methods of leading the revolution, for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat as the most effective form of suppressing the counter-revolution and of consolidating real democracy, and serving today as a remarkable and instructive example, not only for workers, but also for all honest and progressive people? It is now clear to all that, thanks to the iron leadership of the Bolshevik Party, there is in the world today the socialist fortress, the Soviet Union, which shows the international working class the way to emancipation. A new civilization is rising in the U.S.S.R.; this Soviet civilization is the pride of the world proletariat and of all people who love progress, democracy and peace. The victory of socialism in the Soviet Union is the result of the policy of the Bolshevik Party.

But this revolutionary policy is countered by the policy and methods of Social-Democracy, in particular of German Social-Democracy, which, by its theory of the peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism, and by its capitulation to the bourgeoisie, has led the working class to defeat.

We are compelled to issue a warning as to the results of the erroneous policy of the Second International, so as to prevent the repetition in any shape or form of the mistakes of the past and to rouse the vigilance of the workers of all countries, and consequently of the workers of our own country. We must show them, on the basis of facts, that only a consistently revolutionary policy and tactics can lead the proletariat throughout the world to victory, as they led to the victory of the proletariat in the Soviet Union, and that the policy of class collaboration with big business, the tactics of concessions and capitulation to fascism can lead only to the victory of the latter.

The reactionary leaders of the Second International, to whom the workers have pointed more than a thousand times as the ones guilty for their defeats and for the temporary consolidation of capitalism, cannot forgive the Communists for having recalled their disastrous behavior in the labor movement and for having with exemplary clearness demonstrated their anti-militant position, a position that contradicts the interests of the proletariat.

Hence their hostile and negative answer to the specific proposals made by the Communist International regarding united action, repeatedly, at various times and at critical moments of the struggle of the world proletariat. Hence their repeated refusal to take part together with the Communist International in joint action in the face of imminent threats, or even in movements of solidarity with the working class of particular countries, persecuted for their revolutionary activity.

Recall the position of the reactionary leaders of the Second International after our October movement in 1934, when they alleged that the Communists only talked of unity but did not really want it, because we opposed their reformist and counter-revolutionary line.

The proposals concerning unity of action made by the Communist International to the Socialist International, which you all know about, and which have always remained a voice crying in

the wilderness, are not accidental and do not start merely from today. I would only recall the last proposal regarding unity of action made by the Communist International to the Labor and Socialist International in connection with the bombardment of Almeria by the fleet of fascist Germany, a proposal which was made on the request of the Socialist Party of Spain, the Communist Party of Spain and the U.G.T., and which was followed at first by the answer that the Executive of the Second International had not the power to adopt a decision and that it must have the agreement of the General Council which would be convened at some unknown date.

What tragic irony!

At the very time when fascism does not require any special powers to demolish our towns, raze our villages to the ground and annihilate our women and children, the leaders of the Second International have to wait, before affording us aid in token of solidarity, before conducting a joint campaign with the international proletariat, until an extraordinary session of the General Council has been convened to give it authority.

The *Claridad*, which among other proletarian and democratic newspapers ironically wrote about the attitude of these leaders, is right:

"The Spanish proletariat, affiliated to the International Federation of Trade Unions and to the Labor and Socialist International, and equally the workers affiliated to the Third International, have the right to know the truth concerning the motives which have till now prevented a joint campaign from being conducted by the international working class movement in support of democratic Spain.

"We are aware," adds the paper, "of the clarity with which Dimitroff raised the question in his previous and present replies to the Spanish sections of the Marxist working class movement. We also know of the nebulous attitude adopted by De Brouckere and Adler in connection with the requests of the Spanish workers. But we cannot let it remain at that. Is there not something else at the bottom of this business? . . .

"For if there is something behind this, we have the right to know, and the conclusion to be drawn is a simple one, namely, that the International Federation of Trade Unions and the Labor and Socialist International are boycotting an organized, effective campaign of the international proletariat in favor of Republican Spain. Perhaps these words may seem too strong, but we cannot change them until the opposite has been proved to us. The reply given to the request of the Spanish workers shirks the proposal made, but nobody has the right to shirk proposals of this kind at the present moment of the international struggle against fascism."

It rather looks as though, after the article by our brother paper, the *Claridad*, the Second International intends correcting its behavior and beginning negotiations with the representatives of the Comintern.

Let us hope that it is not a question of yet another conversation of the usual kind without any positive results, but that something tangible will come out of this meeting, in aid of the heroic Spanish people and in defense of world democracy. The whole of our people, who are so heroically defending together with their own independence and freedom the democracy and peace of the whole world, are hoping and have the right to hope for this.

We who are deeply striving for unity know that without unity the proletariat cannot win decisive victories, and therefore we cannot give up the right to criticize, since it would be tantamount to indirectly admitting the correctness of a theory and tactics which go directly counter to the interests of the working people.

Our striving after unity is on no account compatible with remaining silent and leaving without criticism mistakes committed in their political activities by those with whom we want to join forces. Unprincipled unity, unity without any clear political platform, without establishing exactly the methods of struggle to be adopted, would be transformed into

a fictitious unity which instead of strengthening the forces desirous of unity would introduce into their ranks the embryo of new schisms and battles. And we want no schism at any time. Consequently we criticize all that which at the given moment can facilitate the destruction of the alliance we have hammered out. We criticize any political line which may prove fatal to the progress of the war and the revolution.

At the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, at which the need was again stressed of uniting the proletariat, and the position of the parties in this respect was clearly defined, as well as of the need to establish a People's Front with the forces of the democratic and anti-fascist petty bourgeoisie, Comrade Dimitroff said the following:

". . . joint action with the Social-Democratic Parties and organizations requires that the Communists engaged in serious and substantiated criticism of Social-Democracy as the ideology and practice of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, and untiringly explain to the Social-Democratic workers in a comradely way the program and slogans of Communism. . . ."

As distinct from the anti-proletarian and anti-Marxist position adopted by certain leaders of the Second International, there are the profound class sentiments of the masses whom they lead and who, from the painful experience of Italy, Germany and Austria, have become convinced of the results of the proletarian forces being disunited and scattered.

The idea of establishing the People's Front and of bringing about working class unity in the political and trade union fields is clearing a way for itself despite all obstacles.

It is essential for every worker, every peasant and every intellectual to impress deeply upon his heart and mind the words which Comrade Dimitroff has constantly repeated to us, that

". . . the establishment of united action by the international proletariat against the common enemy, the mortal enemy of the whole of mankind, fascism, is the *chief, pressing task of the workers' organizations throughout the world, the supreme demand of the present moment.*"

This imperative duty we are fulfilling.

PROBLEMS OF UNITY IN SPAIN

The problem of unity between the Socialist Party and the Communist Party, the creation of a single party of the proletariat, has not originated only now, neither is it new for us, although, at the present moment, we are raising it more sharply and with great urgency than even before.

In September, 1934, at the plenum of our Central Committee we outlined the forms leading to close contact, to fraternal relations with the Socialist Party for united action, for the specific revolutionary action which had already been outlined and had their culmination in the October battles. And it was precisely during those October days of glorious memory that the strivings of our Party, which were the strivings of all the workers, were put into being. In heroic Asturias Socialists, Communists and Anarchists fought and conquered shoulder to shoulder. United for the first time in struggle, and subsequently in prison and suffering, they launched the fraternal, revolutionary watchword among their brothers throughout Spain: "Unite, brother proletarians!" a watchword which reflected the vague sentiments of the masses, the effectiveness of which was confirmed in the fire of countless revolutionary actions.

Who does not remember our specific proposal to the leadership of the Socialist Party after the October movement, for united action by all parties as the first step in establishing a single proletarian party?

The brutal suppression of the glorious revolutionary movement of Asturias, which aimed at destroying the working class organizations, and "curing" them of their striving after social justice, served, contrary to expectations of the butchers of October, still further to in-

crease the class consciousness of the Spanish proletariat, their striving for unity, their desire to finish once and for all with the regime of oppression, terror and the muzzle, which the Lerroux-Gil Robles government forced upon the people of Spain.

Our Party again took up the striving of the proletariat and Spanish people for unity, but its voice was not heeded by the leaders of the Socialist Party.

But the significance and profound response called forth by the historic meeting in the "Monumentale," at which Comrade Diaz publicly raised the banner of the People's Front, the banner of unity among all the anti-fascist forces in face of the imminent danger of fascism, parallel with the banner of unity among the proletarian forces and mainly of the forces of the Communist Party and Socialist Party, compelled many of those who had lagged behind to adopt a definite position on the question of unity.

Within the Socialist Party, the *Claridad*, representing the Left current, was the organ which began to show the old Socialist Party the way to unity. But because of the absence of a clear and consistent revolutionary line, the *Claridad*, for all its decisive influence, was unable to bring about a complete change in the direction taken by the Socialist Party. The *Claridad* for quite a long time conducted a campaign for unity, declaring that it agreed with the main problems raised in our proposals as a basis for unity and with the conditions for its realization. The sharpening of the struggle within the Socialist Party held back the process of unification.

At meetings, large and small, in political documents, in much material that appeared in the press, our Party constantly and resolutely put forward the proposal that unity be realized in practice, pointed to the need for establishing the People's Front and bringing about unity between the Socialist and Communist Parties as one of the chief conditions for barring the road to fascism, for defending and consolidating the republic and democratic conquests, and also for the development of the people's revolution.

We have eloquent proof of the correctness of our position in the brilliant victory at the elections to the Cortes on February 6, 1936, a victory which could not be made full use of because of the absence of a consistent People's Front policy on the part of the Socialist Party and the General Workers' Union. Had there been such a policy it might possibly have prevented the military fascist rebellion of July 18.

July 18 is a tragic indication of the beginning of a new era in the history of Spain and crowns a whole period of oppression and slavery under the whip of the big capitalists and landlords with the heroism and sacrifices of our people on the territory where the rebels have been successfully routed. Conscious of the historic responsibility which lies upon us, we now set ourselves the task of liberating the rest of Spain from fascist oppression: the task of rapidly solving the problem of fusion, of the creation of a single proletarian party, the leader of the masses of the people in their struggle for victory and the consolidation of revolutionary conquests.

Recently Comrade Lamoneda, on behalf of the Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, of which he is secretary, accepted the proposals put forward many times by our Party in the course of the war. At last a liaison committee has been created. In almost all the organizations of the Socialist and Communist Parties liaison committees have been set up to bring about united action and to prepare the conditions for the merging of the two parties.

The Socialist and Communist workers welcomed this initiative with tremendous enthusiasm, and with every day that passes have come closer both at the front and in the rear. They are passionately desirous of one thing: *that an end be put to mere talk about fusion that fusion be rapidly achieved in practice.* However, this inner desire for unity which dwells in the truly revolutionary

masses of our country also has its opponents who have to be unmasked.

THE ENEMIES OF UNITY

Differences have almost vanished between the Socialists and Communists in evaluating the main problems of the war and the revolution; in carefully discussing all ideological problems, we are convinced that we shall rapidly find a basis for the elaboration of a common program, on the basis of which the fusion of the two parties is to take place.

But side by side with the definite will of the majority of the members of the Socialist Party to bring about the fusion of the two parties, discordant voices are to be heard in precisely those quarters where they should least of all be expected. These are certain elements who call themselves "Lefts," and who were in favor of unity when the problem was raised in an abstract fashion; but now that it is a question of bringing about unity in a concrete and practical form, they find all sorts of pretexts which hinder unity, they carry on all kinds of intrigues for the purpose of raising barriers between the Socialists and Communists, in order to hold back and postpone the process of merging the two parties.

These elements, true to the school of double-dealing practices by all pseudo-revolutionary phrasemongers, put forward "ultra-revolutionary" formulas for the purpose of maintaining their influence over the workers, but sabotage that which is truly revolutionary in the working class movement, namely, *unity*. They have the insolence to reprove us, to shower down reproaches on us for establishing friendly relations with the leadership of the Socialist Party, with people who represent that party, and with those whom the "ultra-Lefts" call "centrists." It should be clear that deeds, not words, determine the character of people and organizations. And in the present period in Spain, the revolutionaries are those who desire unity, whereas those who sabotage it, even if they call themselves "Lefts," play into the hands of the counter-revolution.

In view of the presence of different currents inside the Socialist Party, it is possible that there will be people in other quarters who, at the decisive moment of fusion, will attempt to put a spoke in the wheel. True, up to the present we have no grounds for thinking so. But if this happens, if we have proof that somebody is either directly or indirectly sabotaging the unity between the two parties, then whoever he may be, we shall be merciless in unmasking him to the proletariat.

Certain of these "ultra-Lefts," Socialist "leaders" with syndicalist tendencies, got their adherents to adopt a resolution in which they declare that it is incompatible for them to be in the same ranks as the Communists. What sort of heroes and revolutionaries are these "comrades"? Would it not be better for the cause of the war and the revolution if they were to declare that fascism is not compatible for them, and for many of them by reason of their youth to take up the positions they should occupy at the front, where a struggle is really being conducted against reaction and fascism? Would it not be much nobler for them to spend the energy they are expending in attacking the Communist Party and fighting against unity among the working people and nations, to fight against the enemy of the people, the republic and the revolution? It is clear that that would be much more useful for the cause we are defending; if they were to do this, they would be revolutionaries, but unfortunately they are not. For these people, the struggle is not one in the trenches, at the front; for them the struggle is one that takes place in the rear and against the enemy that gives them no peace, against the Communist Party.

How right was our Georgi Dimitroff when he declared that "for a number of reactionary leaders of the Socialist Party"—although in Spain, I add, it is a question of pseudo leaders—"the chief enemy is not fascism but Communism."

But since these poor people do not find sufficient scope for their harmful activities among the healthy and truly revolutionary masses of the Socialist Party, they are beginning to have doubts as to who should lead and direct the revolution: the party of the proletariat or the trade unions. And so, in the ranks of this "Left" wing, as the *Claridad* correctly writes, a syndicalist-minded type of person is arising who plays into the hands of the enemies of Marxism, being led to this by despair and hatred of Communism.

But besides these enemies of unity there are other still more dangerous enemies, namely, the Trotskyists. The most dangerous enemies of the proletariat, of liberty and democracy, are not those whom the workers see on the other side of the barricades, but those who, with the aid of the arguments or despicable twisters defending their dirty business, create schisms and call forth divergences of opinion and contradictions among the workers, by asserting the impossibility of bringing about the unification of the forces of the proletariat owing to the existence in its ranks of various trends, theories and tactics. These people are capable of doing tremendous harm to the cause being defended by the Spanish people, who are engaged heart and soul in their heroic struggle.

These accursed enemies of the proletariat and the revolution, who have sold themselves body and soul to fascism and the enemies of the proletariat, sow confusion among workers who, not being clearly class conscious, and not possessing the necessary political education, succumb to empty, demagogic and "ultra-revolutionary" phrases without seeing the counter-revolutionary path that opens up before them.

The measures adopted to purge the proletarian camp of the poisonous growth of Trotskyism, which adopts the appropriate forms for developing its "work" in every country, will never be exaggerated. Trotskyism is lovingly nurtured by the enemies of Marxism and proletarian revolution who are very well aware of the destructive action of Trotskyism. The activity of Trotskyism in our country—I will not here touch upon the monstrously criminal acts perpetrated by the Trotskyists in the Soviet Union, for you all know about their treachery—ought to be a warning signal for the proletariat to be on its guard against the aims pursued by Trotskyism.

The hostility of Trotskyism to the People's Front, allegedly in the name of "revolution," its systematic attacks on the unity of the anti-fascist forces (the Trotskyists do not at the same time refrain from making the maximum use of the advantages presented to them by the People's Front), the organization of the criminal putsch in Catalonia at a time when the situation in Spain is critical, and the acts of espionage on behalf of Franco which were uncovered and which will very soon be published by the government, testify more eloquently than any words to what lies hidden behind this window-dressing; *it is the hand of fascism.*

Trotskyism in the service of fascism plays a dangerous role in hindering the rapprochement of the forces of the proletariat, the union of the Communist and Socialist Parties. Even in the ranks of the Socialist Party itself, Trotskyism ideologically fosters and feeds the bitter enemies of proletarian unity, enemies who should be exposed and pilloried so that the masses who passionately desire unity shall know who actually defends their interests and who directly or indirectly defends the interests of their enemies.

FRIENDS OF UNITY

However, if unity has many enemies it also has many friends, and good friends. Fortunately for the coming revolution and to the shame of the pseudo-Left pseudo-leaders, the enemies of unity in the ranks of the Socialist Party are growing weaker with every day that passes. And every day the number of them in its Left wing is growing less. There are Socialists who are

working honestly in this Left movement, and have succeeded in raising high the banner of unity that has been dropped and deserted by others. Among these fighters for unity a very prominent place is occupied by Comrade Alvarez del Vayo.

Comrade Alvarez del Vayo is fighting untiringly for the union of the Socialist and Communist Parties. He puts above everything else the interests of the proletariat and the revolution, declaring quite justifiably that "unity is the supreme law of the present moment."

Some of the best fighters in the trade union movement and the Socialist Party are *not* behind Comrade Alvarez del Vayo in the struggle for unity. The newspaper *Claridad*, after some deviations on the road to unity, deviations forcibly imposed on it, has returned to its revolutionary tradition of unity, and has carried on an exemplary campaign against this band of enemies of unity.

The leading group of the *Claridad* did not limit itself to condemning the counter-revolutionary position of the enemies of unity, but came out with a fervent declaration in favor of unity and expressed its eager desire to bring this unity about as rapidly as possible.

". . . since it considers it imperatively necessary to establish a united class party of the proletariat as the sole guarantee of the defense of the latter's revolutionary interests."

In its endeavor to put an end once and for all to confusion and mistaken attitudes, the *Claridad* defined, as every honest revolutionary must do, its position relative to the Soviet Union, bearing in mind that the attitude of every single person and every organization to the land of victorious socialism is an index of its friendly or hostile attitude to the revolution. Hence the *Claridad* desires to establish the point definitely that it is on the side of the Soviet Union, declaring that

". . . the *Claridad* has always felt the warmest sympathy and sincere love for the Soviet Union. We confirm this today because this sympathy is growing stronger, binding us still more closely to this great people who have displayed brotherly solidarity in coming to the aid of our people. Hence we are against all enemies of this great country, whatever they call themselves."

All that is healthy and honest in this party, without distinction of tendency, is up in arms against the group of malignant individuals and adventurers, political careerists who have penetrated into the Socialist Party (incidentally it should be remarked that what is important is not only length of membership but only line of behavior) and is demanding the realization of what Comrade Alvarez del Vayo quite correctly calls "the law of unity."

THE PRINCIPLES ON WHICH THE UNITED PARTY OF THE PROLETARIAT SHOULD BE BASED

We shall now survey in broad outline the principles and foundations which, in our opinion, should form the basis of the great united party of the Spanish proletariat, and the basis of the action of the united party, so as to enable the war and revolution to be won.

I think that I shall also express the views of our Socialist comrades who support unity if I immediately make the most categorical declaration that the united party must make its theoretical foundation the dialectical materialism of Marx and Engels, enriched by the theoretical contribution of Lenin and Stalin, and that it must be precisely on this foundation that there should be constructed the united party whose aim will be the struggle for socialism.

To fulfil its role as leader of the revolution, this united party will also have a centralized structure and its decisions will be binding on all its members. We presume that no one who honestly desires the unity of the proletariat, who wishes the united party of the proletariat to be a consistently revolutionary party can oppose its being built on this firm Marxian foundation.

We are supporters of liberty in the

broad sense of the word, liberty for those who fight along with us for the triumph of the anti-fascist cause.

Our conception enables us to be supporters of liberty of religious belief; but as a party basing itself on the scientific theory of Marxism, we shall endeavor by educating the masses to show them the harm of all religions.

We fight for a new type of parliamentary and democratic republic within the framework of which all the peoples of Spain will enjoy extensive liberty and the right to dispose of their fate. In defense of this republic we are ready to sacrifice everything to the last drop of our blood. But, as Communists, we do not renounce our desire to attain in our day the victory of socialism, and not only in Spain but throughout the world.

We are Marxist-Leninist-Stalinists and hence we apply our theory to the revolutionary possibilities of each moment, without renouncing our final aims.

We put forward the slogan—and fight for it full of faith and enthusiasm—of a new type of parliamentary-democratic republic, because it is just this slogan that corresponds to the present stage of the development of our revolution and the conditions in our country, and because not only Communists but also Socialists, Anarchists, Republicans and all the strata of petty-bourgeois democracy existing in our country are interested in the struggle against reaction and fascism at home, as well as against invasion by foreign fascism.

We firmly believe, and to this we devote all our energy and all the enthusiasm of which we are capable, that we shall win final victory over reaction and fascism, and that after we have crushed the military-fascist rebellion and have driven the forces of intervention from our territory, we shall succeed, along with all those who are participating wholeheartedly in the war, in building a Spain of liberty, well-being, prosperity and happiness.

To fulfil this magnificent and truly revolutionary enterprise, we are ready to march along with all those who desire to accompany us along this path. If anyone lags behind and holds back at one of the numerous turns which we have to take, so much the worse for him. The proletariat, in fighting for its emancipation, fights for the cause of all humanity. This is a Marxian axiom which we always bear well in mind.

Like the Roman geese, the "ultra-Left" Socialists or uncontrollable Anarchists can continue their chatter, warning their friends of the danger of the "mistakes" of the Communist Party.

The Communist Party is a consistently revolutionary party which knows where it is going, what it wants and how it can be achieved.

A. WE ARE SUPPORTERS OF DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM

Our view as to the need for the united party of the proletariat being built on the principles of democratic centralism is based on the experience of the victorious Bolshevik Party, on the teaching of Lenin and Stalin and on the teaching of the Communist International, the genuine inheritor of the revolutionary traditions of the international working class movement.

We are supporters of proletarian democracy, of the free discussion of questions inside our Party. But a revolutionary party that has no desire to bind itself hand and foot in action cannot be a debating club. All problems are discussed, all views are expressed, but when a decision is taken, it must be obligatory for all. In our Party, the united party that we want to establish, all, from the rank-and-file members to members of the Central Committee, will have the right to express their views, to expound their point of view and to introduce proposals for discussion and endorsement. But, I repeat, after a decision has been taken it must be firmly and resolutely carried out by all the organs and members of the Party.

Some Socialist comrades think that our discipline is a barrack discipline, a discipline of passive subordination void of the right of expressing oneself. Nothing is further from reality that this as-

sertion. That which exists in our Party and which we are striving to bring about in the united party of the proletariat is a conscious discipline based on the study of problems, on a concrete analysis of the situation, so as to be able to apply the tactics to the concrete conditions in each given situation, without becoming tied up in dogmatic, mechanical and barren formulas.

There is no doubt that the mistake of other parties and organizations consists in putting forward resounding revolutionary formulae that are not binding on anyone.

Our enemies do not fear these "revolutionaries" in words. We want the party of the proletariat to have a creative revolutionary line, to the realization of which all members of the party must subordinate all their activity and all their energy, forming a single monolithic whole.

B. WE ARE THE SUPPORTERS OF SELF-CRITICISM

The united party of the proletariat must apply the Lenin-Stalin method of self-criticism.

Whoever really desires to defend the interests of the proletariat must not avoid self-criticism—the sole means of securing the correction of one's mistakes. But this does not mean that having committed some mistake one should begin beating one's breast and then repeat the mistake. Members of the party must put into practice the right to engage in deep criticism of all mistakes and all incorrect actions and to criticize themselves before the party and before the mass of the workers of which the party is an inseparable part. Along this path it will become possible for the party to correct its mistakes, systematically to improve its position, and to become stronger and firmer.

We know that there are well-bred "professors" and "lecturers" who are contemptuous of the slogan of self-criticism. The opinion of these gentlemen does not worry us in the least. What we are concerned with is to secure that our party, the united party of the proletariat, should be up to the mark as regards its task and fulfil its revolutionary historic mission, in spite of the howls of these starving curs, who are so easily quietened by a bone and whose greatest desire in reality is to have something to gnaw at.

C. THE NECESSITY OF IDEOLOGICAL UNITY

It is quite obvious that the establishment of iron discipline requires ideological unity in the party. Unless such ideological unity exists, leading to conscious discipline and the growth of the party, there is always the danger that there may appear within the party divergent political lines and tactics, exactly that which has taken place and is now taking place in the Socialist Party, where each group interprets the tactics and policy of the party in its own fashion, and where we have the strange situation that the Socialist newspaper published at Valencia follows a line different from that of the Socialist Party organ issued in Madrid, and where one newspaper declares for unity while another attempts to split the labor movement.

The leading organs of the united party which we are seeking to establish, from the lower organs up to the national leadership, must be elected democratically at general meetings, conferences and congresses, and be obliged periodically to render an account of their activity before the membership.

It must not be forgotten, however, that the leading organs are the supreme organs of the party and their decisions must be binding on all members. The central leadership of the party must lead the entire party as a whole, including the parliamentary group, Cabinet Ministers, party press, and everybody, absolutely everybody, from the very highest official to the ordinary rank-and-file member, is obliged to fulfil and carry out its decisions. Cabinet Ministers, deputies, journalists, speakers, rank-and-file members, all are members of the united party and, wherever they may be,

hey are obliged to defend one and the ame policy.

The united party must be imbued with roletarian internationalism. The united arty, as the defender of the interests f the whole of the working population f our country, must at the same time e an international party connected with he proletarian currents of other coun- ries, and be in direct and close touch with the international organization to which it belongs, in order thereby to make use of the experience of the inter- national labor movement.

The decisions of the national leader- hip and of the leadership of the inter- national organization to which it belongs must be binding upon the united party f the proletariat, because these decisions re not—as some people suppose—de- isions imposed, but the result of the tudy of collective experience of the truggle.

D. THE UNITED PARTY OF THE PROLETARIAT MUST DEFEND THE SOVIET UNION AND FIGHT AGAINST ITS ENEMIES

At the present moment, when interna- ional fascism is intensifying its policy f provocation against the Soviet Union, gainst the land of socialism which is so eeply loved by all who are fighting for ocialism, the defense of the Soviet Union against its enemies, against those who slander it, should be a question of roletarian honor for every member of he united party. But apart from this the efense of the Soviet Union presupposes he understanding by members of the nited party of the meaning of the Len- nist theory, because, as Comrade Stalin as said:

"The greatness of Lenin consists in his, first and foremost, that by creating he Republic of Soviets he thereby dem- nstrated in practice to the oppressed asses throughout the world that their opes of liberation were not lost, that he domination of the landlords and capi- alists was shortlived, that the kingdom f labor could be established by the fforts of the working people themselves, hat the kingdom of labor could be estab- lished on *earth*, and not in heaven. He thereby kindled in the hearts of the workers and peasants throughout the world, hope in their liberation."

E. THE UNITED PARTY OF THE PROLETARIAT MUST FOLLOW THE PRINCIPLES OF MARX-ENGELS-LENIN-STALIN

Apart from the fact that we must be guided by the theory of Marx and Engels, we must also follow the direc- tions of Lenin and Stalin who have con- tinued the principles and who have been able to put into practice, to transform into actual life, the theories of Marx and Engels.

We are Leninists, because Lenin, as our great Stalin has said,

". . . was and remains the most loyal and consistent pupil of Marx and Engels, wholly and entirely basing himself on the principles of Marxism."

And we are Stalinists because the great theory of Marx-Engels-Lenin has been enriched by Stalin, who teaches us Communists to stand firm, even in the most difficult situations, to stand with unshakable Stalinist firmness in strug- gle and in work, to be irreconcilable in relation to the class enemy and the rene- gades of the revolution, and at the same time not to fear difficulties, clearly to distinguish the friends from the enemies of unity even although these drape them- selves in robes of the profoundest friend- ship. He teaches us, moreover, to com- bine theory with practice, with the words that:

"Theory becomes aimless if it is not linked up with revolutionary practice, just as practice becomes blind if it does not light up its way with revolutionary theory."

Basing himself upon this great truth, he has been able, by treading the road of the great theoreticians of socialism, to consolidate all the socialist gains of the splendid Soviet Constitution, in which there are proclaimed the right of all working people to labor and well-being, a constitution which shows them the

essence of genuine democracy and the road leading to it. It is an honor for every proletarian, for every revolutionary who desires to be a loyal defender of the interests of his class, to be a pupil of Stalin and to carry out Stalin's policy. Only traitors, renegades and deserters from the revolutionary camp can reproach us with calling ourselves Stalinists. Yes, we are Stalinists and proud of it, because Stalin's policy is the road which leads to the consolidation of socialism and the overthrow of capitalism.

For the people of Spain, Comrade Stalin is the symbol of international solidarity. In the most tragic moments of our struggle when the democratic governments spoke scornfully of the Spanish conflict as of something which concerned Spaniards alone, when the leaders of international Social-Democracy gave us platonic proofs of their solidarity, while the fascist countries sent their finest military supplies and forces to help the rebels, Stalin gave splendid expression, in brief, decisive words to the need for organizing international solidarity with the Spanish people. It was none other than he who, in face of the cowardice of the democratic governments, which were terrified of the fascist brawler, declared to the whole world that:

"The liberation of Spain from the oppression of the fascist reactionaries is not the private affair of the Spaniards but the common cause of all advanced and progressive mankind."

The spirit of solidarity displayed by the land of socialism filled our country with good cheer. Only a few days ago the president of the Cortes, Senor Martinez Barrio, made the resolute and definite statement that without the solidarity displayed by the Soviet Union, Spain would have ceased to exist as a republic and even as a national entity. Is this not sufficient reason for basing the united party of the proletariat upon the genuine proletarian internationalism which has such brilliant teachers and leaders as Comrade Stalin?

HOW TO MAKE A PRACTICAL APPROACH TO THE PROBLEM OF UNITY

Having described in broad outline the program of action, the theoretical principles, the structure and organizational forms, which should constitute the basis of the united party of the proletariat for the establishment of which all the necessary conditions exist, I shall now deal briefly with the question of how practically to approach the problem of uniting the Socialist and Communist Parties. Fortunately, with every day that passes the links between the two parties, despite the foul maneuvers and despicable intrigues of the enemies of unity, are becoming stronger and more cordial, and this circumstance should considerably lighten the task of unity. A liaison committee between the leaders of the Communist Party and the Socialist Party already exists. Many liaison committees have also been set up in the provincial centers and the primary organizations of both parties, and we receive proof from them every day of their desire to pass from unity of action to fusion, to the formation of a united party of the proletariat. Liaison committees exist and are functioning in many towns and a large number of villages.

I want to name several provinces where despite certain difficulties these committees are functioning and are of great benefit to the interests of the people. Such committees which are occupying themselves more and more with the problems of fusion exist in Albacete, Almeria, Asturias, Aragon, Cuenca, Estremadura, Guadalajara, Grenada, Jaen, Madrid, Murcia, Toledo, Cordoba and Valencia.

Information reaches us from many parts that the primary organizations want to bring unity about without further loss of time. Seizing on this desire and these sentiments of our members and the members of the Socialist Party, we also declare once more that this state of affairs cannot continue any longer, and that the fusion of the two parties must be rapidly brought about.

How can this process be accelerated? I think that our Central Committee should propose to the comrades of the Executive Committee of the Socialist Party who have so often declared their agreement with us on the question of bringing about this fusion as rapidly as possible, that they should appoint a delegation to discuss with us the problems specifically concerning the immediate fusion of the two parties.

These delegations of the two parties should be empowered to discuss all that concerns fusion. They should occupy themselves with problems relating to the program, structure, organizational forms, the name of the united party and its adherence to an international organization, and report upon all points that may arise in the course of the discussion. Both parties must all the time be kept aware of the progress being made in the work of unity.

As you see, we do not want to impose definite conditions; we want to have a friendly discussion and as quickly as possible come to agreement concerning the formation of the united party, the creation of which is so passionately desired by the proletariat of our country.

Nobody should fear that the fusion of the two parties may lead to people being removed from one post or another, or shifted around. On the contrary. The creation of the united party not only requires the collaboration of all honest capable leaders, but also requires today, for victory and the consolidation of the conquests of the revolution, and tomorrow, for the restoration of Spain and the building up of the new society, many thousands of leading elements from among those prominent for their experience in work and struggle, irrespective of the camp from which they come.

With this prospect in view, Communists and Socialists should make an effort to establish connections with those Anarchists who are prepared to take part in politics, and to weigh the possibilities of their also joining the new party in which, as I said at the beginning, the best fighters of the Spanish working class should come together.

With sleeves rolled up, we must set to work and build this new party on the basis of the principles of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin, the party which will be the leader and guide of the proletariat and all working people in building up the new Spain.

RAISE HIGHER THE BANNER OF UNITY!

Raise higher than ever the banner of unity! Our Party, which has always firmly held the banner of unity, is now desirous of raising it still higher and of holding it more firmly than ever before. We desire to and will bring about the unity of the advanced forces of the proletariat into one united party; we desire, and for this we are fighting, to strengthen the united action between the trade union organizations of the U.G.T. and the C.N.T. with a view to the fusion of the trade union centers as rapidly as possible. We are desirous of, and shall assist in bringing about the political cohesion of the forces of the petty bourgeoisie, in order to secure the united action of these forces with those of the proletariat.

We desire that with every day that passes, the unification of the entire Spanish people, of all people fighting against reaction and fascism, for the new Spain, shall become deeper and more stable, in order to win the war, in order to consolidate the conquests of the revolution, in order jointly to build up a Spain of peace, labor and liberty.

Let us work to secure a speedy victory!

Long live the great united party of the proletariat!

Long live the People's Front!

Long live the growth of unity!

Long live our Party, the creator of unity, which will lead us to victory!

Mathe Zalka [Lucacz]

CASA DEL CAMPO, University City, Posuelo de Alarcon, Boadilla del Monte, Mirabuelo, Majadonda, Jarama, Guadalajara, Huesca. . . . The most difficult, most brilliant pages of the struggle of the heroic Spanish people against the united forces of the fascist interventionists, for liberty, democracy and national independence, are indissolubly linked with the name of one of the foreign volunteers of liberty, with the name of General Paul Lucacz, the Hungarian writer Mathe Zalka. Shoulder to shoulder with the best of the Spanish people, he organized, inspired, worked and fought for the creation of a strong, disciplined people's army under a united command. Always and everywhere at the head of the units which he had succeeded in a very short space of time in making a model of organization and fighting power, he devoted all his knowledge, all his experience, all his inexhaustible life force to the cause of the Spanish people. And when he died, hit by a fascist shell near Huesca, the Spanish people buried him as their best son, as a real Spanish national hero.

Zalka was born in the year 1896 in the village of Matolche, to the north of the Hungarian plain, right at the foot of the Carpathians. Immediately upon finishing school, he found himself in the army. During the world war years, he fought on many fronts: the Serbian, Italian and Carpathian-Russian. In 1916, he was wounded and taken prisoner by the Russians. On recuperating from his wounds and injuries, he was sent to the Far East near Khabarovsk to the Krasnorechensk war prisoners' camp. There he heard for the first time of the principles of Marx-Engels, of the problems of the international revolutionary working class movement.

The young Hungarian sub-lieutenant felt out of place among the officer prisoners. For his revolutionary activities among the war prisoners he was confined to a concentration camp, from which he was released by the revolution. At the end of 1917 he was a Red guard, a Bolshevik.

When the counter-revolution reigned supreme for a time in Siberia, he fell into the hands of the Czechs. Several times he was taken out to be shot, and was forced to dig his own grave. He escaped with his life by accident, but was sent from prison to prison and camp to camp. In 1919, he managed to get away to the Yenisei jungle and join the irregulars, in whose ranks he fought against the Whiteguards until the arrival of the Red Army at Krasnoyarsk. His detachment, which became the nucleus of the future international regiment and international brigade, was sent out to convoy to the R.S.F.S.R. the Republican gold reserves taken back from the Czechs.

Later he was at the Polish and Wrangel fronts, and at the storming of Perekop. To the eleven wounds received during the imperialist war, another seven were added; received on the fronts of the civil war. Then, with the Cheka troops of the Republic, he engaged in the struggle against banditism. For his fighting services to the revolution, Zalka was awarded the Order of the Red Banner and inscribed firearms.

At the fronts of the civil war, there were already displayed and hammered out those splendid qualities of people's

military leader which later made Zalka-Lucacz a beloved leader of the men of the Spanish People's Army, a popular figure in revolutionary Madrid. While still an irregular in Russia, he had been able to establish the warmest, most human, friendly relations with the poor Chinese people of the locality. When the Czechs once caught him, flogged him almost to death and left him for dead in the fields, some Chinese workmen recognized him as their "comrade commander." Zalka came to himself in a little hut belonging to Chinese workers. It was they who had saved him.

At the end of the civil war in the U.S.S.R., Mathe Zalka once more became a writer. He had begun to take the literary road before the world war. His first verses and stories appeared in the year 1913. During the war and the first part of his period as prisoner of war, he was a pacifist. When in the year 1923 Mathe Zalka once more took up the pen, he was a Communist of long standing, having been steeled in the fire of the civil war.

It was typical of Mathe Zalka, the writer, that the heroes of his works were the "small" people. He shows us not the army headquarters, but the "average" man, the "ordinary" soldier of the revolution. The problem that he deals with over and over again is how in the course of work, suffering and struggle, the masses turn to revolution, resort to action, become ideologically mature, and how the revolutionary masses draw the individual into activity and the revolutionary struggle. Such are his best stories: "Khodya," "The Brave Little Tailor," "First, Second, Third," etc.

When, last year, the traitor-generals of Spain together with the armies of the Italian and German fascist bandits struck a blow in the back of Spanish people's democracy, Mathe Zalka (Paul Lucacz) threw down his pen, the weapon of peace time, and at the first call of the Spanish people hastened to their aid. The writer of international solidarity once more became an army leader of international solidarity. He became the life and soul of the units he led. When the International Brigades were formed he immediately joined their ranks. He was tireless in organizing, teaching and training his fighters in the spirt of discipline. Always with them, always, even in the most difficult moments, sturdy, smiling, confident, he inspired them to legendary feats. And they marched after him, trusted him and followed his example. Thus it was that he trained ever new fighters for the revolution.

The eighteenth anniversary of the Hungarian proletarian revolution found him in a little Spanish village near the front. A Hungarian Communist, he could not forget the historic anniversary. On March 21, he gathered all his men together and asked them to sing Hungarian folk songs together.

One of his comrades in battle writes of him: ". . .We shall never forget the extreme kindness of this man. During the big Italian offensive upon Guadalajara, a number of Italian soldiers from the Littoria battalion, sent to Spain at Mussolini's orders, were taken prisoner. We knew that the Italians were intending to resort to the use of poison gases, and we also knew that the previous day Italian fascists had tortured and shot a number of volunteers from the Garibaldi battalion. Together with Lucacz, I stood by their bodies; under the impression of that picture there could easily have been born a hatred for all Italian soldiers in the interventionist armies.

"Italian prisoners, covered in mud, were brought into the dining room, where General Lucacz intended interrogating them. One of the prisoners, stricken with fear at the realization that the behavior of his superiors to the 'Reds' was known, threw up his hands and cried: 'Don't shoot me!'

"Lucacz jumped up, ran to the Italian, and taking his head in his hands as though he were his own child, began to reiterate, with a broad smile: 'No, we won't shoot you; we don't shoot our prisoners! You are our comrade, our comrade!'

"I could tell dozens of other such

stories about Lucacz, which have made the Hungarian Communist, the honorary citizen of Spain. his name live forever in the minds of his men and all the people of Madrid. . . ."

Mathe Zalka fell, hit by a fascist shell; he died as generals of the people know how to die, at his fighting post, for the liberty and independence of Spain. Along all the streets of Valencia, right to the cemetery itself, where stood a guard of honor of troops of the people's army, the people stood in closed ranks. Weeping old women greeted his coffin with clenched fists raised. Tens of thousands of people accompanied him on his last journey. The government of Republican Spain came to pay its last tribute to the hero,

The central organ of the Communist Party of Spain, the *Mundo Obrero*, expressed best of all the sentiments of the best sons of the Spanish people: "Lucacz was a great fighter, a Communist, a beloved leader of the people's army, a hero of the most difficult battles for the independence of our native land, who came to Spain, his native land forever more, to conquer death. He fell. But all his men, the entire army, the whole of the Spanish people will bring him victory. When we are victorious we shall place our biggest banner on his grave."

BLAGOYE PAROVICH

MATHE ZALKA

Blagoye Parovich (Schmidt)

DURING the last offensive of the Republican troops near Madrid, there met a hero's death, fighting in the ranks of the International Brigade, Comrade Blagoye Parovich (Schmidt), member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Jugoslavia.

From his early youth Parovich, a leather worker, took a most active part in the class struggle of the proletariat. While still an apprentice he joined a trade union, then joined the Young Communist League, and in the year 1924, as a young man of twenty-four, joined the Communist Party. An active and loyal Party member, a capable mass worker, he was elected by the workers to the most responsible posts in the trade union movement of Horvatia; the Party entrusted him with the most difficult conspirative work, which he carried out with honor. Trained by the Party, he advanced rapidly in its ranks, occupying elected positions in the leading party organs of Horvatia. He was arrested several times for his political work and, both in jail and in the courts, set an example of proletarian behavior, of a revolutionary in face of the class enemy.

From the year 1929, Comrade Blagoya Parovich took up illegal work, paying special attention at that time to the study of Marxism-Leninism. In the year 1934 he was elected a member of the Central Committee and the Political Bureau by the Fourth Conference of the C.P. of Jugoslavia. Once again on illegal work, he showed himself to be a courageous and steadfast fighter in the exceedingly difficult conditions of the military-fascist dictatorship.

From the very outset of the rebellion of the generals, and of the criminal intervention of fascism in Spain, his one thought was to get there and take part in the heroic struggle of the Spanish people. And so he died a hero's death near Madrid. At the time, he was occupying the glorious post of Political Commissar of the Thirteen International Brigade.

Comrade Parovich was always distinguished for his boundless devotion to the Party and the Communist International, to the cause of Lenin-Stalin, fighting with all energy and determination against counter-revolutionary Trotskyists and Rights, against all faction-mongers, for the Bolshevik line of the Party. He once made a mistake in his practical activity, but he succeeded in setting an example as to how a Communist should give a self-critical estimate of his mistakes and correct them in the course of his work.

The memory of this honest, loyal and splendid comrade and Party worker will live forever in the ranks of the Communists of Jugoslavia.

Airmen of Two Worlds

BY ERNST FISCHER

RED airmen have conquered the North Pole. Vodopyanov landed at the Pole on the very day that his play *The Dream* was shown for the first time in Moscow. The dream has come to pass, fantasy has become a reality. The first greetings from the North Pole read: "Now we have taken revenge on the elements for the loss of the Chelyuskin. We are happy to report that we have been able to fulfil the task set by Comrade Stalin and set up a firm base at the Pole for science and aviation. Our thoughts are with our great motherland."

The first wireless message from the Pole read: "We are remaining to work at the North Pole, at peace about our fate, and confident in success. During the long months ahead we shall be warmed by the consciousness that we are not alone, that behind us and with us are all the many millions of the brotherly Union of Soviets. We send the ardent greetings of winterers at the Pole to all our countrymen, to our splendid Soviet government, to the Central Committee of the Leninist Party, to the one who inspires and organizes our victories, Comrade Stalin."

These great men, pure of heart, are filled with a sense of the grandeur of their people, of the purity of their ideal. Sons of workers, sons of peasants, they fought in order to rise up from the earth, to rise to the realms of light and freedom, to fly where the genius of mankind had not yet penetrated, to render more spacious and bright the world of darkest night trodden by their fathers. Neither privations nor difficulties, nothing could break their spirits or cast a shadow over the clarity and magnificence of their lives. All this steeled them; their prowess, their faith in the future grew strong in the flame of Bolshevism; the man of tomorrow was cast, a new generation of heroes and conquerers was molded. Their lives are brightened by the aureole of the gigantic goal which rises fresh before them with every day that passes; to rise still higher, to subordinate the elements to the will of man, to unfurl the banner of Lenin-Stalin, the banner of the Soviet people, the banner of revolution, over the whole world. In those heroes of a new type, courageous but alien to all adventurism, burning with the desire for action, but striving after the highest achievements without childish haste, without any personal ambition—in these heroes is embodied socialism victorious.

When Lindbergh, the American, first crossed the Atlantic, it was a bold enterprise, a feat of an individual; the brilliant record of a hero of the old world which knows not of service to a higher goal. In reply to the query of the reporters Lindbergh answered smiling: "What did I feel when flying above the ocean? I was bored." A splendid fellow, that individual pilot! But how different, how much finer is heroism in the Soviet Union! The whole of the people took part in the flight of the conquerors of the Arctic. The government prepared for it and kept a check on it down to the last

detail: no bold caprice was this, but a mighty, carefully weighed plan! Lindbergh laughed in the face of the world: "I was bored!" The heroes of the Soviet Union, having fulfilled their task, reported: "Our thoughts are with our great motherland. . . . During the long months ahead we shall be warmed by the consciousness that we are not alone, that behind us and with us are all the many millions of the brotherly Union of Soviets."

From Lindbergh to the heros of the Soviet Union is from individual to collective heroism, from bourgeois to socialist heroism, from arbitrary and planless heroism to organized and planful heroism. But there is the opposite process from the "liberal" type of hero as embodied in Lindbergh, to the fascist type of "hero" as embodied in the pilots of the third empire. The airmen of the U.S.S.R. have shown the world with what socialism is fraught; they contributed all their pride to the conquest of the North Pole, to open the shortest air route between Moscow and California, to gain new victories of mankind over the elements. But the airmen of the third empire have also shown the world of what fascism is capable, by turning Guernica into ruins, annihilating en masse the Basque in flight, and from the air spreading death far and wide.

In a play, Vodopyanov, the Soviet pilot, described his dream of conquering the North Pole, later to make his dream a reality. Gottfried Schultz, a Hitler pilot, also publishes his dreams, if only in his diary. Gottfried Schultz was taken prisoner in Spain. His diary fell into the hands of the Basques fighting for liberty. So we have documentary evidence to establish the thoughts, the sentiments which inspired Schultz and which are the embodiment of the fascist ideal of a hero.

Schultz, hero of the third empire, defender of European civilization against "Bolshevist barbarism," a Northern "refined person" fighting against the Southern "undeveloped man" records his impressions and experiences thus:

"On January 15—a drinking bout; after dinner, Senior Lieutenant Pankow flies off on his new machine; the speed made an impression on me."

Thus, Schultz has "some impressions." He is capable of still greater emotion than "some impressions."

On January 18 he recorded: "in bad humor," and on January 19 he writes in his diary: "I am discovering the beauty of this country." In the next few days the beauty of this country becomes tangible. Spain takes on a definite shape for Schultz.

"January 26. Shells are whistling past. A drinking party with the captain and commandant. The dead: dead pigs, dogs, mules."

"January 30. A small drinking party with Schlosser. The chief went off to bed. I am the officer on duty. Rutch, Schlosser, all are setting out in friendly fashion to a brothel."

Schultz's spirits rise. From the dead pigs, the road of this lively Hitler hero leads to a small drinking party, from association with his fellow officers to association with prostitutes; the spirits of fascist comradeship are roused in the brothel. The next day Schultz sets out "on a tour of inspection" in Talavera. What is he seeking in Talavera? What is he always seeking in Spain? We read:

"February 1. The next day Rutch and Schlosser and I set out on a tour of inspection to Talavera. But we had bad luck. We found no girls and so we returned disappointed."

After meeting with no success on February 1, Schultz is able to boast of his success on February 16. True, not in his search for girls, but in a man-hunt of another kind.

"February 16. Flight with 10 Junkers over the Arganda front. Successful bomb-dropping. . . . Over Arganda one Junker burst into flames and began to drop; jumps by parachute."

He met with similar successes on Feb-

ruary 19. This time again in the chase after women.

Schultz enumerates all the young heroes who hurled themselves at the Spanish women with the high aim of defending civilization and, by order of their Fuehrer, or restraining in themselves "the foul brute that is in man."

"March 24. Fantastic beauty of the place, especially near Vittoria. To establish communications with the army authorities. In the evening, a drinking bout. The brothels are closed. "

"March 31. At 9:45 a.m. An air attack on the Biscay front. At 11:45 a.m. attack repeated. At 2 p.m. dropped bombs on lorries and men. Explosions, many bombs hit the mark. At 3:45 p.m. another attack on the same detachments. In the evening had a good meal."

"April 3. Flew over to San Sebastian. Tremendous impression, wonderful place on the seashore, fringed by mountains. Only a few people, as though everything was dead. Visited the mountains where the casino is situated. Was taken for an Italian. Decent booze. Then dressed in mufti and went by taxi to the brothel. Elegant women. Afterwards felt fine."

"In the morning dropped bombs, in the evening had a good meal, spent the night with elegant women in a brothel. . . ."

Such is the heroic life of a Hitler pilot in Spain. Between murder and prostitution, dropping bombs and drinking bouts, large-scale slaughter and small drinking parties, the Schultzes fulfil the fascist ideal of a hero. They pay for love and are paid for murder, they take the taxi to brothels and take airplanes to perform the most bloody, dishonorable work in world history: "Elegant women—afterwards felt fine." "Afterwards" there was the flight to Guernica, afterwards there was the brutal annihilation of a peaceful town, the cold-blooded murder of women and children seeking a refuge. That is what Hitler makes of the German youth! That is why the Schultzes fly aloft from the earth, which for them consist of fascist institutions, public houses and brothels; such is the "flight" of fascist "heroism" of which Goebbels never ceases to talk.

This Schultz is no accidental type, nor are Vodopyanov and his comrades. A whole world is embodied in Schultz. A whole world is embodied in Vodopyanov. They are the airmen of two worlds; the one plunging deeper and deeper into the despicable world of prostitution, stupid wasteful destruction and "elegant" barbarism; the other flying ahead of mankind into the realms of freedom, to the conquest of the elements, to the purity and magnificence of the socialist world. Behind Schultz and with Schultz is the whole world of fascism which inevitably leads to shameful ruin. Behind the Red pilots who conquer the North Pole, and with them stand the entire fraternal people of the U.S.S.R., in their millions, all that is great, splendid and creative in mankind.

The Recent Advance in Marxist Thought in England

BY CLEMENS DUTT

ONE of the most significant developments in England during the last few years has been the growing attention paid to Marxism. It is a sign of the times that the first anniversary of the Left Book Club, founded for the sale and study of new books broadly representative of the "Left" wing in England and reflecting to a large extent the prevailing interest in works written from a Marxist standpoint, should find that the club has become a powerful organization with almost 50,000 members and a wide network of local groups.

Before the World War, the teachings of Marxism in England was in the hands of small sectarian circles, and the recognized exponents of Marxism such as Hyndman had heavily distorted Marxist teachings. At this time Marxism was universally ignored by bourgeois culture or scornfully condemned as an arid dogma and exploded theory. Ramsay MacDonald displayed the ignorance of the British reformist when he wrote, "Marx's place is on the threshold of scientific sociology but not over it." (*Socialism and Society.*)

For a long time, even after the war, most of the works of Marx and Engels were not available in English translation, and existing texts were largely mutilated and distorted presentations. Outside the field of political economy and political theory, the work of Marx was entirely unknown. No textbook of philosophy mentioned his name, and if writers on political economy did mention him it was only with stupid arrogance and with an attitude toward Marx's teachings as one hardly requiring refutation.

It is only in recent years that a change has taken place in this situation. The influence of Marxist thought is now becoming apparent in many different spheres. In the publishing trade there is something like a lasting "boom" in Marxism. Bourgeois publishers who never ventured into this field before now find that it is worth their while to publish books on Marxism and Leninism. It is significant that the more important hostile biographies of Marx, such as that of Carr, do at least make use of the extensive materials made available by the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute. Such a work as Mehring's *Life of Karl Marx*, which has long remained untranslated, is now issued in English by a bourgeois publisher.

The fact that such an opponent of Marxism as G. D. H. Cole hastens to take advantage of the new market with a book on *What Marx Really Meant* is itself an indication of how greatly Marxism has become a fashion among bourgeois intellectuals, just as the fact also that Cole claims to be a Marxist ("What I have written," he says, "is in essence Marxist"), at the same time putting forward the most grotesque distortions of Marxism, is an indication of the stage of understanding of Marxism prevailing among his intellectual public.

Bourgeois publishers who a few years ago would have no interest in the sub-

ject now try to compete with the "Left" publishers by including works by or on Marx, Engels and Lenin. Thus Routledge publishes *Marxism and Modern Thought*, and Chapman and Hall have recently issued a collection of *Letters of Lenin* in a pitiably ignorant and careless translation. Moreover, these books are widely and favorably reviewed in the bourgeois press. England, where the greater part of the lifetime of Marx and Engels was spent, and where they were ignored during their lifetime and slandered so long after their death, is now beginning to take Marxism seriously.

The world of bourgeois thought in England is discovering Marxism. Influential writers on political theory like Professor H. G. Laski are taking an increasingly serious attitude to Marxism. The London School of Economics finds it desirable to include a course of lectures on Marxism, given, it is true, by various persons representing a most confused medley of opinions. Against their will, the bourgeois economists, finding themselves in a blind alley with their equilibrium equasions and psychological factors, are driven to adopt fragments of the very Marxian analyses that they so wholeheartedly detest. Thus the leading British bourgeois economist, J. M. Keynes, in his recent work, *The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money*, hailed by bourgeois economic thought as the greatest masterpiece of recent years, while explicitly repudiating Marxian economics as "obsolete," finally arrives at something resembling a labor theory of value.

Especially important is the growing approach to Marxism by natural scientists. Six years ago materialism was still defended only by a few experimental scientists such as L. T. Hogben and J. Needham, who attempted to defend the instinctive mechanical materialism of the natural scientists against the spreading morass of idealist and mystical views characteristic of the epoch of decaying capitalism.

A turning point came with the London International Congress on the History of Science, where a series of papers were presented by the Soviet delegation and created a tremendous impression. It came as a revelation that the researches and discoveries of such a scientist as Newton, for instance, could be interpreted in the light of the economic and social conditions prevailing in his day. More important still, the subject of dialectical materialism suddenly came into the forefront of attention.

The first reaction on the part of the scientist was the typically British one of saying in effect that it was all nonsense, Hegelian nonsense. But gradually, as the writing of the founders of Marxism-Leninism became available and began at last to be studied in Britain, more and more of the outstanding younger representatives of science, philosophy, history and literature began to be attracted by what were to them entirely new theories.

Among the sciencists, various lines of development made themselves evident. First of all, there is the continuation of mechanical materialism, as exemplified by Professor Hogben, which adopts a "Left" point of view in social questions but regards dialectical materialism as philosophical moonshine.

Secondly, the professional philosophers, such as Oxford don Carritt, tried to treat dialectical materialism as a specialized philosophical subject which was the prerogative of their department. Professor MacMurray (*Philosophy of Communism*), on the other hand, gives his support to Marxism as an all-embracing unity of theory and practice, but only in order to try and substitute Hegelian idealism for dialectical materialism and to controvert the class struggle conclusions of Marxism and Leninism. The belletrist, Middleton Murray, along with a number of others, flirts with the adoption of dialectical materialism and Marxism in order to reconcile Communism and Christianity.

Third, we have an important group of scientists who have given pleasing recognition to dialectical materialism as having a weighty bearing for the general

theory of science, but who are still greatly influenced by the English tradition of empiricism, who in general underestimate theory and who have an instinctive distrust of all philosophy. This attitude is not without its influence on those who are now definitely prepared to proclaim themselves dialectical materialists. Hence, while recognizing the advance toward the understanding and acceptance of Marxist theory which has taken place recently in Britain, it must be admitted that the present stage of this development is characterized by a mass of confusion, inexactitudes, aberrations and harmful deviations from Marxism.

It is significant that on the subject of dialectical materialism the only important contribution that has so far appeared in England, and which in spite of many confused formulations and other shortcomings is marked by originality, breadth of treatment and understanding, is not the work of a bourgeois intellectual but of a tried militant in the ranks of the working class. We refer to T. A. Jackson's *Dialectics*.

The movement now taking place in the direction of Marxism in England is one of the most characteristic signs of the deepening revolutionary crisis. It is a product of the experience gathered from the World War and the Russian Revolution, and its growth has been accelerated above all by the impact of the economic crisis of 1929-32. It was a staggering revelation for the adherents of Reformist Socialism in England, who had sneered at Marxism as a bundle of out-of-date fallacies, to find that the predictions of Marxist analysis were confirmed by experience on every hand, while the cherished assumptions of "gradualness" and peaceful evolution crumbled and broke when put to the test.

For half a century Fabian Socialism was the dominant tendency in England. It represented the English variety of "revisionism" and, in accordance with its full adaptation to the conditions of imperialism and a labor movement under the guidance of bourgeois ideology, it proclaimed itself, not a revision of Marxism but the open enemy of Marxism. Foremost among the founders and exponents of Fabianism were Sydney Webb and Bernard Shaw. It is characteristic that the last great work of Sydney and Beatrice Webb, *Soviet Communism: A New Civilization?*, is in effect a repudiation of the whole theory that they have championed during the last half century.

Very similar conclusions could be drawn from the two new chapters (on Sovietism and on fascism) just published by Bernard Shaw as an appendix to one of his older works. The foremost leaders of the British variety of Socialism are forced to testify that there is no alternative to Marxism, that the world today is not the world of reformism, but a world whose development was foreseen by Marx.

A new generation is growing up in England which is coming to realize the truth of these statements. It is significant that a wider and deeper unity has been achieved in the student movement in Britain between the Communists and Socialists than in the Socialist movement outside. The foundation of the Marx House in London, the interest taken in the lectures provided by it and its support from prominent representatives among British intellectuals, at last give Marx the honor that is his due in England and further testifies to the growing influence of Marxism. Among the outstanding poets and writers of the new generation, a large number are going over to Marxism and their influence is felt in such periodicals as the *Left Review* and new Marxist literary journals, such as *New Writing*.

The turn from Fabian Socialism to Marxism is clearly revealed by the changed attitude of the Independent Labor Party. For thirty years and more the I.L.P. has always proclaimed itself as anti-Marxist. Now we find, for instance, the secretary, Paton, declaring shortly after the Blackpool Congress in the summer of 1932 that the I.L.P. is a Marxist party. In place of the reformism

of MacDonald and Snowden we have the rather half-hearted recognition of Marxism by Maxton and the pseudo-revolutionary utterances of Fenner Brockway, who pictures himself as more Marxist than the Marxists. The extreme danger of this shallow, verbal pretense of Marxism without acceptance of the reality of Marxist-Leninist revolutionary teachings is seen in the easy way in which these I.L.P. Marxists turn to Trotskyism and to support of the counter-revolutionary P.O.U.M. The misunderstanding of Marxism can be more dangerous than open hostility to it.

The recognition of these dangers is one of the most important lessons which must be learned from experience of the development of Marxist theory in Britain at the present stage. The fact, for instance, that such a widely read exponent of Marxist theory as J. Strachey should have recently given his approval, in a preface to a new work on *Freud and Marx*, which attempts to reconcile these irreconcilable standpoints, is an indication of the deficiencies in the understanding of Marxism that are still prevalent in England.

The stage that has now been reached in England is one where a wide approach to the understanding of Marxism has been made for the first time. The first necessity now is for more and deeper study. A certain proportion of the main works of Marx and Engels are now available in English translation, although it is true that such major works as *Dialectics of Nature*, *Theories of Surplus Value* and the *German Ideology* are still unknown to the English reading public. Up to now, a large proportion of the young bourgeois intellectuals in England have merely flirted with Marxism, without attempting really to study and apply the theory.

The rich experience embodied in the teaching of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin furnishes the only correct guide for action in the complex problems facing the working class movement in England today. The application of Marxism-Leninism in practice for the advance of the working class movement requires that the theory be fully mastered and that there be a ruthless exposure of the prevailing confusion and mistakes.

The present ferment which is bringing toward the working class movement important elements from the intelligentsia has not yet gone far in affecting the outlook of the working class movement as a whole. In view of the great weight of traditional thinking, which affects the outlook of the trade union movement, as well as the preoccupation with immediate issues of struggle that hinders attention to theoretical questions, it is the more important that the theoretical realization of the necessity of Marxism as the only path forward in England should have its fruit in practice in the realization of a broad popular front for the immediate objects of struggle, common to workers and intellectuals alike. The fact that the growth of Marxism in England is above all noticeable among the intellectuals and advanced working class elements is a sign of the specific character of the dialectical development of the situation in Great Britain.

Catholic Fascists Incite to Murder

BY P. VIDEN

WHEN on July 25, 1934, the National-Socialists assassinated Dolfuss, the Austrian Chancellor, shouts of indignation were raised among the Austrian Catholics. And when the Vienna *Reichspost*, the leading newspaper of the clerical fascists in Austria, branded that cowardly murder as a foul crime, committed by foul criminals, it thereby earned the approval of its political opponents, who had always hated Dolfuss—"the bloody Chancellor" of the February, 1934, days. The opponents, however, rejected cold-blooded murder as a means of political struggle, and fought for liberty not by revolver shots in the back. What would the Catholic working people have said if a newspaper at that time had praised "the tried and tested means of getting rid of enemy leaders" and had encouraged assassins to continue to resort to this "tried and tested means"? And what would they have said if the Christian, Catholic newspaper had regretfully declared that all that was lacking were leaders to continue the further systematic organization of cold-blooded assassinations?

At that time the Catholic *Reichspost* used strong language to condemn cold-blooded murder as a method of political struggle. But with the passage of time it has changed its opinion and published a call to murders, which for its cynicism does not yield place to the most infuriated howls of the National-Socialist butchers. On June 16, 1937, an article on the Catalan Anarchists appeared in the *Reichspost*, the author of which appeals to the Anarchists not to allow the Communists and other parties of the People's Front to oust them. The article ends with the words:

"If the Iberian Anarchist Federation resorts to its tried and tested means of removing enemy leaders with the aid of desperate, self-sacrificing, 'pistoleros' the advantage will be on its side. The moods of its members make them prepared for this, only it would seem that there are not enough leaders, because the leadership has till now been under the command of a power for which the Iberian Anarchist Federation is merely an means to a definite end."

This is an open call for cold-blooded murder. The author, a Catholic, makes no attempt to mask it in any way. He talks about "getting rid" of leaders, just as the National-Socialist butchers say: "laid him out," "finished him off." He praises "desperate" murderers, who cold-bloodedly "remove" political opponents; he glorifies the "sentiments" of the bandit braves to whom a number of the best sons of the Spanish people fell victims; he incites these braves; there is a lack, it seems, of genuine leaders, because the Iberian Anarchist Federation is merely "a means to an end" for the leadership that has existed up to now. And so, the present leaders must be "removed" and other agents of German and Italian fascism put in their places who will be only too pleased to organize the murder of the leading people of the Spanish People's Front.

From the very beginning the Catholic

Reichspost has been on the side of butcher Franco and his Moroccans against the Spanish people, against the heroic Basque Catholics; from the very beginning it has offered its sympathies to the bestial hordes of Hitler and Mussolini, although the masses of the Austrian people are heart and soul on the side of the Spanish workers, peasants and other citizens defending their independence, arms in hand.

However, up to now the Catholic newspaper has managed to cover up behind a screen of "Christian arguments" its sympathies for the assassins who destroy defenseless towns, annihilate women and children, and from time to time sanctimoniously has advocated "humanizing" the war. Now the screen is torn aside: the bloodthirstiness of the fascists who have tried to lead the world astray with their "Christian" views has been revealed in all its foul nakedness. A gulf is opening up between the Christian workers, peasants, artisans and small traders of Austria, and the fascist accomplices of Franco, Hitler and Mussolini.

On the one side stand the people, ready to defend their independence against Hitler, and therefore regarding the struggle of the Spanish people for independence as their own vital concern; on the other, a handful of fascists, who applaud the hangmen of Spanish independence, although these same hangmen are already stretching out their claws to Austria; who are calling for the cold-blooded assassination of the leaders of the Spanish People's Front, although their own leader, Dolfuss, and the leader of the active Catholics in Germany fell victims to similar murders.

The cutthroat Queipo de Llano sent a wireless message to the Catalonian Trotskyists, who were plotting a putsch against the People's Front: "Hold on! We are hastening to your aid!" The Catholic *Reichspost*, in appealing to the "uncontrollable" elements of the Anarchist F.A.I., encouraged them thus: "Resort to your tried and tested means of removing enemy leaders."

The Basque Catholics fighting under the cross are desperately resisting the pressure of the bands of Hitler and Mussolini. The German Catholics are fighting under the cross against the barbarity of Hitler fascism, which is destroying liberty and culture. Yet the leading Catholic newspaper in Austria, the *Reichspost*, makes common cause with Hitler and Mussolini in the struggle against the Spanish people and the Basque Catholics who are defending their legally constituted government, their liberty, their human dignity, against the fascist incendiaries; it makes common cause with Trotskyist spies, with criminal elements in the ranks of the Anarchists; it encourages them to assassinate men who are leading the heroic struggle of the people for independence. Yet, how the *Reichspost* howled when the Anarchists set fire to churches! Now it has suddenly developed a tender feeling for these same Anarchists, because it thinks it is possible to set these "desperate self-sacrificing" "pistoleros" against the People's Front, the people, the workers and peasants, who are defending their native land with their lives.

The Catholic fascists of the *Reichspost* have delivered a foul blow against the Basque Catholics, the German Catholics, the Catholic workers and peasants of Austria who are prepared to defend the independence of their native land. The Catholic fascists of the *Reichspost* are calling for the assassination of the leaders of the people engaged in defending their independence. They have drawn a line of blood between themselves and the Catholic masses who are unwilling to subordinate themselves to the rule of foreign barbarians. In the name of Christ they have entered into an alliance with the sworn enemies of mankind. But the Christian workers and peasants will tear aside from their faces the mask behind which the people will see the disgusting features of Judas.

The Sixtieth Birthday of Comrade Kolarov

DEAR COMRADE KOLAROV: On the sixtieth anniversary of your birthday, the Executive Committee of the Communist International sends you its fraternal greetings.

In your person the Communist International honors one of the most popular leaders of the working class and working people of Bulgaria, and one of the oldest and best leaders of the international Communist movement.

Beginning your revolutionary activities in the middle nineties of the last century in the ranks of the Bulgarian labor movement, you always fought on the side of its revolutionary Marxist wing against opportunism. With your active participation—under the direction of the leader and theoretician of the Bulgarian party, Blagoyev—there took place in 1903 the historic separation of the revolutionary wing (the "Tesnyaki") from the Bulgarian opportunists (the "Shirokiye") and its formation as an independent Marxian party of the Bulgarian proletariat.

Fiery speaker, indefatigable agitator and propagandist, you have always been closely linked with the masses of workers and peasants, and on more than one occasion have stood at the direct head of their economic and political struggles. During the World War you carried on a courageous struggle against the imperialist war in the foremost ranks of the Party. You exposed the treachery and collapse of the Second International, took part as the representative of the Bulgarian Social-Democratic Labor Party ("Tesnyaki") at the Zimmerwald Conference, helped to develop the party and to secure its transition to the Bolshevik position, as well as its participation under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin in the creation of the Communist International. Especially important was your participation in the first decisive encounter of the international proletariat against fascism, in leading the heroic rising of September, 1923, in Bulgaria. Regularly elected to the Central Committee, you have actively participated in the leadership of the Bulgarian section of the Comintern, and are affording the most valuable aid to the Party in carrying through the decisions of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, in the struggle against sectarianism, and in the creation of a popular anti-fascist front.

In the Comintern, you have been member of its presidium without a break since 1921, and have always stood in the forefront of the struggle against Trotskyism and Right opportunism. While taking an active part in the World Congresses of the Comintern, and in the plenums of its Executive Committee, you have devoted special attention to questions of the work among peasants and the practical solution of the peasant question.

The Communist International places an especially high value on your unshakable devotion to the working class cause, your immutable faithfulness to the great teachings of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin.

We wish you, dear Comrade Kolarov, many more years of work and struggle for the cause of the working class and of the working people of Bulgaria and the whole world.

Dimitroff, Manuilsky, Kuusinen, Ercoli, Marty, Gottwald, Pieck, Moskvin M. A., Florin, Wang Ming.

The Foundation Congress of the Communist Party of Slovenia

BY K. HORWART

AS FAR back as December, 1934, the Fourth Conference of the Communist Party of Jugoslavia decided on the formation of Communist Parties of Croatia and Slovenia, and later of a Macedonian Communist Party, all within the structure of the Jugoslavian Party, so as the better to combat bourgeois nationalism and to facilitate the development of cadres from the ranks of the workers of the oppressed nationalities themselves.

The operation of this decision was delayed primarily because the class enemy, in 1935 and 1936, managed to strike blows at the Party and so temporarily to hold it up. It was only recently that there took place in illegal conditions the Congress of the Party organizations of Slovenia which decided to form the Communist Party of Slovenia within the bounds of the united Communist Party of Jugoslavia. The Congress addressed a manifesto to the industrial workers and working people of Slovenia, and sent greetings to the E.C.C.I., to Comrade Dimitroff, to Jose Diaz of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Spain, and to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Jugoslavia.

Before the imperialist war the Slovenian people, who number more than one and a half millions, were almost all part of Austria-Hungary, where they managed to keep a certain autonomy by fighting hard against forcible Germanization. After the World War the Slovenians were partitioned between three states. The main mass, about a million, fell to Jugoslavia, about 300,000 to Italy, and over 100,000 to Austria. The Slovenians are a very cultured people and the Slovenian part of Jugoslavia is the most highly developed industrial region of Jugoslavia. Literacy is almost universal there and the proletariat constitutes quite a large section of the population. The Slovenian Social-Democratic Party was formed as far back as the end of the nineteenth century and split in 1920, the majority joining the Communist Party of Jugoslavia.

The fall of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy did not bring national emancipation to the Slovenians. The Slovenians in Jugoslavia suffer continual oppression from the Great-Serbian bourgeoisie in the name of the "unity" of non-existent "Jugoslavian" nation. Slovenia is subjected to economic robbery by taxation and fiscal policies. In Austria forced Germanization continues. But the most onerous portion has fallen to the lot of the Slovenian national minority in Italy since fascism came to power. Besides destroying all Slovenian cultural institutions, closing Slovenian schools, prohibiting Slovenian organizations and societies, the fascist barbarians brutally wipe out the Slovenians, burn down their villages, and thrash the defenseless population. Many Slovenians have been imprisoned or sent to concentration camps.

But, as the manifesto of the first Congress of the C.P. of Slovenia states,

never was the national existence of the Slovenian people in such peril as today. Italian fascism, for which Slovenia is but a bridge to the Balkans and the Danube countries, and a source of coal and timber, and Hitler fascism which regards Slovenians as Slovene-speaking Germans and Slovenia as a door to the Balkans and the near East, are preparing a new partition of Slovenia which would be a real national catastrophe for the Slovenian people.

The Congress manifesto says: "The Yugoslavian part of Slovenia includes the main part of the Slovenian people. It is the cultural center, a source of strength for the Slovenians in Italy and Austria as well. If the fascist aggressors could dismember this part as well it would be a blow at the heart of the whole people. Partitioned and broken, it would be an easy prey to the unparalleled cruelty and cynicism of fascist methods of denationalization."

The Slovenian people is one of those small nations which are most threatened by the fascist warmongers. It is highly probable that after Spain the fascist banditis have chosen Jugoslavia as one of their first objectives and are preparing the fate of Euz Kadi for Slovenia. All the more can one understand why hundreds of Slovenian Communists and anti-fascists hastened to the international brigades fighting in Spain. In its greeting to the Communist Party of Spain the first Congress of the Communist Party of Slovenia says "our first thought and our first ardent fraternal greetings are for you, the heroic brigade of the world proletariat and through you to the heroic peoples of Spain."

Although Koroshets, leader of the Slovenian Catholic Party, is Minister for Home Affairs, the Stoyadinovich government not only fails to defend Slovenia from fascism but with its unpopular, reactionary foreign and home policy is leaving the door ajar. This is proved by the negotiations between Stoyadinovich and Hitler, the actual liberty of shameless Hitlerite propaganda throughout Yugoslavia, and Slovenia in particular, the pact, concluded recently with Italy and in general the whole foreign policy of Stoyadinovich who is hand in glove with the fascist aggressors. This is proved by his vicious slanders against the Communists and Jugoslavian anti-fascists in general, and his actual support of the Great-Serbian fascists. The latter had the audacity to organize a campaign in true martial style against Slovenia under the leadership of General Zhivkovich. But they met with vigorous resistance from all the anti-fascist forces, from the Communists to the Slovenian Catholics, notwithstanding the efforts of Koroshets and the reactionary leadership of the Catholics to disrupt the joint action of the anti-fascists.

In this critical period for the Slovenian people the Slovenian Communists are summoning all democratic, anti-fascist elements, first and foremost the working class and its organizations, to a united front of struggle against fascism and war. Nineteen thirty-five in Slovenia saw the inception of an embryo People's Front—a peasant and workers' movement including Left workers, Social-Democrats, adherents of Machek, Pribishevich, national-revolutionary elements, Christian Socialists and some other groups. In the municipal elections, with the open ballot, this bloc achieved good results. But the main fault in this bloc was that the Catholic masses did not take part in it, that the Social-Democrats looked on it only as an election bloc, and the adherents of Machek, guided by narrow party interests, even left this bloc after the elections. At the same time the fine success achieved by united action in last year's heroic strike of Slovenian textile workers remained unused because of the stubborn resistance of certain leaders of Social-Democracy to all Communist proposals to establish durable unity of action, united trade unions and a united labor party.

And, so, the Slovenian working class and the Slovenian people are disunited in their danger. But, for this, as emphasized by the manifesto of the First Congress, there is no justification. "Between

the masses and the democratic forces of the Slovenian people there are not and cannot be any obstacles delaying the fraternal unity of the liberty-loving forces of the people in the struggle against the common enemy, against oppression and exploitation."

The Slovenian Communists well understand that there can be no People's Front without the Catholic masses. Religious convictions cannot be an obstacle: in Germany, fascism persecutes Catholics and Communists. In Slovenia, as is said in the manifesto, "Every fighter for the freedom of the Slovenian people and, in the first place, every Communist, respects the religious beliefs of every comrade in the struggle, for the existence of the Slovenian people and the Slovenian national interests are at stake."

Bearing in mind the decisive significance of proletarian unity for the formation and consolidation of a People's Front the Congress pointed out in its manifesto: "To unite all the forces of the Slovenian people against the designs of fascism is the task primarily of the Slovenian workers. That is why the Slovenian workers want to act as a united force on the political arena besides fighting in a united front for their own everyday demands through united action and trade union unity."

The Slovenian Communists do not rest content with urgent calls for unity of the proletariat and for all democratic forces to unite in struggle against fascism, war and national oppression. They have a specific program which can unite all these forces.

Making its starting point the right of nations to self-determination and demanding full equality for the Slovenian people the Congress of the C.P.S. stated in its manifesto: "The future of the Slovenian people and its national existence will be safe only in a free union of the fraternal peoples of Jugoslavia in the form of a federated democratic state. For this purpose a constituent assembly must be called and the Slovenian people must receive their own democratically elected parliament."

In the sphere of foreign policy the manifesto demands a vigorous application of the policy of collective security: the strengthening of ties with peaceable democratic states, first and foremost with France, the Little Entente and the Balkan Entente and the immediate establishment of diplomatic relations with the U.S.S.R., the bulwark of peace.

In the sphere of home policy the manifesto demands the restoration of political rights and liberties, the abolition of all survivals of the military fascist dictatorship, the abolition of the defense of the realm law, a general political amnesty, freedom of organization and the press, etc. In advancing specific demands to improve the position of the working class, the peasantry and all working people the manifesto lays particular stress on the measures which must be taken to end the exploitation of Slovenia by Great-Serbian capital and the damaging effect of Great-Serbian hegemony in Slovenian economics.

* * *

The Slovenian Communists are working as the real defenders and champions not only of the interests of the Slovenian working class, but of the vital national interests of the Slovenian people. The Slovenian Communists have sprung from the Slovenian people; they are its devoted sons, their ties with the people are indissoluble. As stated in the Congress manifesto the Slovenian Communists have formed the Communist Party of Slovenia "to make their readiness to fight for Slovenian freedom stand out in bolder relief. The First Congress of the Communist Party of Slovenia announces the determination of the Slovenian Communists to place all their powers and devotion at the disposal of their people."

The formation of the Communist Party of Slovenia is one of the most important steps in the operation of the national policy of the Communist Party of Jugoslavia and in bringing its organizations closer to the masses of the people. It is also the application of the decisions of

the Seventh Congress of the Comintern and a demonstration of the correctness of the policy of Lenin and Stalin in the national question.

At the same time the formation of the Communist Party of Slovenia means to render more united the Communist ranks in Jugoslavia and to increase revolutionary proletarian internationalism.

That is why, addressing the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Jugoslavia, the Congress:

". . . considers it necessary to emphasize the devotion of the Slovenian Communists to the unity of the Communist Party of Jugoslavia and its Central Committee. . . . The Slovenian Communists do not forget for one moment that the closest fraternal collaboration and strong unity of the Communist ranks of all the nationalities of Jugoslavia, under a united leadership, is an indispensable condition for the defeat of the common enemy, for the victory of democracy and the liberty of the people over fascism and Great-Serbian hegemony, for the final triumph of the working class."

That is why the Congress assured the Communist International and Comrade Dimitroff that:

". . . the Slovenian Communists will continue to fight henceforth as well for the sterling principles of proletarian internationalism. They recognize that they are part of the great proletarian family which embraces all continents and, under the tested experienced leadership of the Communist International, is taking the path indicated to the working class by its immortal leaders and teachers—Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

"In our country too the enemies of the people—fascists, Trotskyites and every kind of reactionary, all these lackeys of capital—are throwing mud at the Communist International. But their slanders rebound upon themselves.

"We Communists of Slovenia, as part of the Communist Party of Jugoslavia, stand fast under the banner of the Communist International."

The First Communist Deputies in the Iceland Parliament

BY A. HENSON

AT THE election of the Althing (parliament) which took place on June 20, this year, the Communist Party of Iceland met with considerable success. For the first time three Communists were elected out of a total number of forty-nine deputies. Reaction suffered defeat at the elections.

Iceland is a sovereign state linked up with Denmark by a personal union. The main branch of the economic life of Iceland is fishing, the value of fish products exported reaching 90 per cent of the value of the total export.

A predominating role in the economic life of the country is played by the State Bank and the big shipowning companies, first and foremost the Kueldulfur company. This company occupies a leading position in the fishing industry's employers' association. It has received big loans from the State Bank, the financial policy of which during recent years has been adapted more and more to the demands of this company, so hindering the development of the economic life of the country and leading to a rapid deterioration of the conditions of the working people. The struggle against this policy, for the confiscation of the Kueldulfur and also to secure a change in the leadership of the State Bank, is one of the burning questions of the political life of Iceland.

The biggest of the political parties in Iceland is the so-called "Party of Independence" (conservatives, whose policy is chiefly determined by the interests of the big shipping companies, trusts and big merchants). The head of this party is the chief shareholder of the Kueldulfur. This party has influence among the petty bourgeoisie and even among a certain section of workers, and has been developing without a break in the direction of fascism. The leadership of this party is linked up with German fascism and exerts all its strength to defend the fascist rebels and intervention in Spain. This party is the main source of the fascist danger in Iceland.

The next party in size in Iceland is the "Party of Progress" (the peasant party). It draws its support primarily from the peasant coöperatives which embrace the majority of the peasants, and is a democratic party, the Right leadership of which is fairly closely connected with the State Bank (the same leadership also heads the cooperatives).

Then comes the Labor Party of Iceland which draws the support chiefly from the trade unions. The leadership of this party has till now taken up a sharply negative attitude to the united front in spite of the will of the masses of members, and permits wrecking Trotskyist elements inside the party.

The trade union movement, which is still divided, has about 15,000 members, *i.e.*, almost half of the working class of Iceland. Of these, 13,000 are in the Social-Democratic Workers Union, and only about 2,000 in the Workers Union

f Northern Iceland, which is under rev-
utionary influence.

There are a number of cultural and
conomic mass organizations in Iceland,
ne biggest of which is the Sports Union
f Iceland, with about 10,000 members,
nd the Peasant Cooperative Organiza-
ons with about 9,000 members.

Iceland is a country without an army.
he national question is of great impor-
ance for Iceland since the independence
f the country is being increasingly
hreatened especially by Hitler fascism.

* * *

The Communist Party of Iceland
which was founded in November, 1930,
apidly took root among the masses and
ook its place at the head of numerous
conomic struggles, thanks to which it
ecame possible to beat back a great
umber of the attacks undertaken by the
mployers. The Communist Party has
lso taken an active part in the political
truggle. Special mention should be made
f the campaign in 1933 conducted by
he Young Communist Party against the
stablishment of a state police. At the
ery first opportunity the Communist
arty of Iceland took part in the elec-
ions to the municipal councils and the
Althing, and won several seats on the
municipal councils.

Of tremendous importance for the de-
velopment of the Party were the de-
isions of the Seventh Congress of the
Comintern, which served to stimulate
he Party to undertake the bold develop-
ment of the policy of the united prole-
arian and people's anti-fascist front,
nd to give concrete shape to this policy
n correspondence with the actual situ-
ation in the country. As a result of this
olicy the Party won the election victory
n June 20 of this year.

What was the policy which led to the
election victory? First, thanks to the
energetic struggle of the Communist
Party of Iceland for the establishment
f the united front, the idea of the united
front has met with an exceptionally
strong response among the Social-Demo-
cratic workers and officials, despite the stubborn opposition of the Right leaders of Social-Democracy who at their last Congress categorically declared that they would never permit a united front with the Communists. This has been shown by the big May First demonstrations in 1936 and 1937 in Reykjavik (the main center of the country), the establishment of the united front on a local scale, for instance, in Westmaneyar, the operation of the united front in many town councils, and the united front in the Reykjavik cooperative association, which embraces 1,800 families. The demand of the united front has been put forward by many trade unions, including the biggest ones in the country. The struggle for trade union unity has already resulted in partial successes.

Second, the Party has tirelessly defended the day-to-day interests of the working people. In this regard attention should primarily be drawn to the general chauffeurs' strike in Reykjavik (December, 1935), which was led by the Communist Party alone and which achieved victory for the strikers. This strike resulted in the chauffeurs' total wage bill being increased by 400,000 kroner at the expense of the oil trusts. The Party also succeeded in achieving the satisfaction of a considerable portion of its old demand for the guaranteeing of minimum wages for the fishermen.

Last year in Reykjavik alone which has a population of 35,000 people, the Party collected 5,000 signatures to a petition asking for an improvement in social insurance.

In striving energetically to establish an alliance between the workers and working peasants, the Party has carried through a positive policy in relation to the peasant cooperatives, for which it has demanded state aid. The Party is striving to change the policy of the cooperative leadership for the benefit of the masses of working peasants.

Third, the Communist Party of Iceland has further intensified its struggle against the main enemies of the people of Iceland, namely, the Kueldulfur clique

and the State Bank, and has called on the workers' anti-fascist organizations to establish a united proletarian and anti-fascist People's Front. The Party is striving to deprive the reactionaries who are betraying the national interests of the people of Iceland of all possibilities of posing as the defenders of the nation.

Ever wider masses are beginning to understand that if an end is not put to the criminal policy of reaction, it will ruin the economic life of the country, deprive the people of Iceland of their national independence and hurl the masses of people into the direst poverty. By combining its struggle for the interests of the working people with the fighting traditions of the people of Iceland, the Communist Party found its way to the intelligentsia, the best representatives of which are now closely linked up with the Party.

Finally, the Communist Party has improved the inner life of the Party, created an atmosphere of enthusiasm and unity, and established a daily paper which has become an effective weapon in the hands of the Party.

At the beginning of the electoral struggle the Party declared through the medium of its chairman, Comrade Barnasson that: "The first duty of every progressive person is to secure the defeat of the conservatives, for a victory of the latter would mean the introduction of fascism into Iceland." The Communist Party took up a correct attitude towards the former coalition government of the Labor Party and the Party of Progress, when it supported all the progressive undertakings of these parties, while at the same time criticizing them for their errors and concessions to reaction and fascism. The Communist Party attempted to come to an arrangement with the Labor Party and the Party of Progress during the electoral campaign, but failed to do so because of the Right-wing leaders of these parties.

Making its main task to secure the defeat of reaction and fascism in the elections, the Party decided to put its own candidates forward in only ten constituencies, and proposed to its supporters that they vote in the remaining constituencies for the candidates of the Labor Party and the Party of Progress, primarily in those places where the candidates of these parties were threatened with defeat.

These tactics of the Communist Party won the endorsement of all progressive people as was confirmed by the results of the elections, where the reactionaries met with defeat. The government parties have a stronger majority in parliament than formerly, although the Labor Party lost a number of seats.

The results of the elections have shown that the masses of the people in Iceland do not want fascism and hate its plans, directed as they are against the people.

The results will serve as a serious warning from the workers of Iceland to the Right-wing leadership of the Labor Party which rejects the united front and tolerates wrecking Trotskyist elements in the ranks of the Labor Party.

Following the electoral victory the position of the Communist Party of Iceland has altered. The relation of forces between it and the Labor Party has changed considerably, thus undoubtedly creating favorable conditions for the more rapid establishment of the united front. The electoral victory opens up new possibilities for the all-round consolidation and growth of the Party itself.

The Communist Party of Iceland is well aware that the position of reaction has not yet been sufficiently weakened, that the conservatives in spite of their loss of seats still continue to be the biggest party in the country, while in Reykjavik their votes have considerably increased.

The fascist danger in Iceland has not declined but, on the contrary, has increased. The Communist Party is therefore making use of the conditions created by the electoral victory to carry on a still more energetic struggle for the united proletarian and anti-fascist People's Front.

The International Women's Movement

THE Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, having discussed the question of the current tasks in the sphere of the international women's movement, adopted a series of decisions on July 3, 1937, which deserve the attention of all working class and all women's organizations, The most important of these decisions are the following:

THE TASKS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES IN WORK AMONG WOMEN

The Presidium of the E.C.C.I., in noting that Communist work among the masses of women is in a neglected condition in the majority of the capitalist countries as the result of an absolutely impermissible, philistine and disdainful attitude towards women and the women's movement, demands that the Communist Parties make a sharp change in their work in this sphere. With this aim in view the Presidium proposes that the Parties undertake first and foremost the following measures:

1. To organize without delay an inner-Party campaign and in the future to carry on systematic explanatory work in order to overcome completely all vestiges of the old philistine, medieval attitude towards women and the women's movement, and the slightest underestimation of this movement in all organizations and among Party members.

The task of drawing the masses of women into the labor movement and into the general movement against war and fascism, the task of organizing and politically educating the working and peasant women, the professional women and housewives, the task of establishing and developing an independent mass women's movement against economic, cultural and political inequality and enslavement of women—all this is a question for the whole working class, for its political, trade union, cooperative and cultural organizations. The entire working class, and all workers' organizations are vitally interested in this work and are responsible for it. But the Communist Parties as the vanguard of the labor movement primarily bear responsibility for this field of work. Mass work among working class women and all working women in general must be regarded as one of the chief tasks of each Communist Party, which it carries on primarily with the forces of Communist women. For the fulfilment of this task all Party members and particularly the Communist women themselves must show constant initiative and concern.

2. To put an end to all petty guardianship over the women Party members, which ties their hands in the development of the work among the masses of women; to give them sufficient organizational possibilities for carrying on this work independently, beginning with women's meetings and right down to the organization of independent women's organizations—constantly helping them in this, encouraging them, imbuing them with confidence in their own forces, attentively directing their work and correcting their mistakes by comradely advice.

Every Communist Party must first of all check up on the number of women Party members, see what work they perform in the Party and in the trade unions, see whether these forces are correctly allocated and then create special organizations and organs consisting of women

Party members (together with the more advanced women sympathizers) for carrying out work among the widest masses of women. However, this should not in the least degree deprive the women Party members of the right actively to participate in general Party and trade union work.

At the same time every Communist Party must systematically work to promote and train *new active cadres* from among the women who participate in the anti-fascist movement, in the trade unions and the other mass organizations —both general and special women's organizations.

3. To consider one of the chief tasks of mass work in this sphere to be the attraction of the wide sections of women workers into the trade unions and all working women into cooperative societies and into other general organizations of the working class, and also the increase of their active participation in these organizations. To make this easier, it is necessary to demand that the trade unions, for example, through special representatives or women's commissions, organize women's work and regularly call meetings of women members of the unions to discuss all trade union questions affecting them and the specific demands of the working women, particularly during strikes.

The trade unions must pay special attention to the organization of the wives of workers, members of unions, after the example of the U.S.A. and Great Britain in auxiliary organizations, and carry on cultural-educational and political-educational work.

4. A task of no less importance is the development of a special women's movement, both around important questions common to all working people (for the maintenance of peace, against reaction and fascism, etc.), and in defense of the special interests of women, advancing demands in which the broadest masses, even the most backward sections of working women, are vitally interested (economic equality, equal pay for equal work, equal rights to benefits, to receive work, etc.; for political equality, for the unconditional right to vote, etc., for social equality, for equal rights in the family and in marriage, for the women's right to education, for the protection of motherhood and childhood, etc.).

5. The successful development of a mass women's movement will not be possible unless Communists and Communist women learn to *avoid all formalism and schematism* in their approach to the political tasks and organizational forms of this movement. It is therefore absolutely necessary in every country to study attentively which burning questions or urgent needs the masses of women have particularly at heart, which demands and slogans can set them into motion at the given moment.

Instead of inventing artificial forms of new organizations, it is necessary to start from the organizational forms which already exist in the given country, concentrating attention primarily on the *uniting* of all the forces of working women who are in existing women's mass organizations (Social-Democratic, Labor, Democratic, Catholic, etc.).

For this purpose women Communists must enter these organizations and influence them in the sense of bringing about unity of action of working women. Even in fascist and other countries where the Communist movement is illegal, it is necessary to learn to carry on this mass work in a legal form, in the ranks of organizations which legally exist. In countries of bourgeois democracy, it is necessary to bear in mind also such forms as the organization of women's clubs, women's homes or mothers' and children's homes, and also the formation of special organizations of young women, the content of the work of which will be specially suited to them.

6. The task of the organizational unity of the Communist and Social-Democratic women, without making it a condition that they break with their corresponding parties, must be put on the order of the day as a question which has fully matured; in this matter, it may be either a question of uniting the forces in a

joint alliance (for the struggle for a definite platform on a number of individual questions) or of complete fusion into a single organization fighting for democracy, for women's rights, for peace and socialism, against reaction, fascism and war.

7. The press must be mobilized on an extensive scale in favor of the women's movement and special literature published. The press organs of the Communist Parties, trade unions and cooperative societies must not only publish special women's columns, but devote leading and other articles to questions concerning the economic, political, social and legal interests of the women, to questions of protecting mothers and children, questions of cultural and political education of the masses of women. The magazines of the Communist International and the Communist Parties must systematically train the Party cadres, devoting space to the problems and experiences of the women's movement. The publishing house of the E.C.C.I. must issue special literature on women's education, popularizing outstanding women fighters both of the past and of the present.

8. It is necessary to popularize in all ways and utilize for work among the masses of women in the capitalist and colonial countries all that the October Revolution has given the women of the Soviet Union; *i.e.*, to explain the equality and all the achievements of women in the U.S.S.R. regarding mothers, women as participants in production, as participants in social life, participants in managing the affairs of the country, women in the field of culture. All of these achievements of Soviet women which are embodied in the Stalin Constitution must be shown as an aim for which we must fight in the capitalist countries.

9. The Central Committee of every Communist Party must raise the question of these tasks at the next plenum of the Central Committee or Party conference. One of the leading comrades, a member of the Central Committee, must be directly allotted the task of specially checking up on the fulfilment of the decisions of the Communist International and the Party in this sphere and of preparing, together with leading Communist women, questions of the women's movement for discussion in the Political Bureau and the Central Committee. Members of the Party in the trade unions, the sport leagues, the cooperative societies and other mass organizations must insist with all energy on the development of mass work among women.

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S MOVEMENT AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM

The international women's anti-war and anti-fascist movement has noticeably succeeded in widening its sphere of action, and at the present time influences millions of women directly or indirectly. This movement, which has a firm organization only in a few countries (France, Spain, partly Belgium, Holland), has taken an active part in some events and in a number of political campaigns (the election campaign and the battles of the People's Front in France, the World Peace Congress, the campaign in aid of Republican Spain), and has been able to draw some big national women's organizations into its campaigns (the formation of coordination committees in defense of peace, committees of struggle for political and civil rights, committees in defense of Spain, etc.).

It has established a mass women's magazine published in the French language and a number of magazines for women in other countries. The international women's anti-war and anti-fascist movement must, therefore, be regarded by all working class organizations as one of the chief points of support for carrying on work among the women, and the greatest efforts must be made to convert this movement into a genuine organized movement of the masses of women for women's rights, for freedom and for peace. For this purpose it is absolutely necessary to eliminate a series of weaknesses in the work of the world committee and the national committees of the women's anti-war and anti-fascist movement.

Trotskyism in the Service of the Reactionary Catholic Hierarchy

BY FRANZ LANG

THE reactionary hierarchy of the Catholic church headed by the Vatican is linked up in the closest degree with fascism. Its hatred of Communism, of the international labor movement, of the united People's Front and, of course, of the citadel of socialism and peace, the Soviet Union, knows no bounds. In the official organ of the Vatican, in the reactionary press of the Catholic church, the *Italia*, *La Croix*, *Reichspost*, etc., one can read daily the most disgusting slanders against the Land of the Soviets written in the style of fascist and White-guard leaflets.

Moreover, the holy fathers who edit these papers not infrequently lose all sense of humor. The *Il Creterio*, a weekly journal published in the Argentine, for instance, recently entered into a discussion "on the future tasks of the church in Russia," declaring (we quote from the Austrian Catholic weekly, *A Better Future*, of May 9, 1937), that "The foundations have already been laid, upon which will rest the gigantic edifice of Catholicism in future Russia."

The Soviet Union is systematically subjected to the most filthy attacks in the encyclicals and speeches of the Pope. The Vatican and its press openly and cynically take the side of the fascist generals in Spain and in fact support fascist intervention.

At the same time Catholic working people are alarmed at the insolent aggression of German and Italian fascism. They were seriously disturbed by the open support afforded by the Vatican to Italy's campaign of plunder in Ethiopia. The attitude of the Vatican towards the rebellion of the fascist generals in Spain, the intervention of German and Italian fascism called forth deep indignation among them. A number of prominent Catholics like Ossorio y Gallardo, Jose Bergamin, Professor Garcia Gallero and many others have openly taken the side of the Spanish government of the People's Front, against the fascist assassins. The Basque Catholics are fighting with arms in hand, and shoulder to shoulder with members of the other parties of the People's Front, with the Communists, Socialists and Republicans. Aguirre, the head of the Basque government, himself a Catholic, is making the most serious accusations against the heads of the church who draw a veil of silence over all the foul actions of the fascist hordes.

This differentiation that is to be observed in the camp of the Catholic working people, the unrest and disquiet that have seized them, are causing no little alarm to the Vatican.

But by what means can the reactionary church hierarchy tie the masses to themselves and prevent them from collaborating with the anti-fascists to save peace and resist fascist provocation? Vatican circles cannot openly declare to their supporters that they are on the side of fascism, and favor a military attack against the Soviet Union. The successes

of the Soviet Union in all spheres of socialist construction, its consistent struggle for peace, the Stalin Constitution—all this cannot fail to influence the Catholic masses.

Hence, in order to split the ranks of the people, Catholic reaction resorts to the aid of the Trotskyist gang of wreckers, diversionists, spies and assassins. In the arsenal of this gang of bitter enemies of the working class and all working people, the reactionary princes of the church find a poisoned weapon suitable for the fulfilment of their shady plans.

Who supplies the Vatican with "arguments" wherewith to besmirch the Soviet Union, to split the ranks of the people in the interests of the fascist warmongers? Trotskyism!

The organ of the Vatican presents the super-bandit Trotsky as our "impeccable witness," prints long excerpts from his slanderous articles to "prove" that "Communism is bankrupt." The fathers of the Catholic church have had to resort to the fascist agent Trotsky, to use his dirty attacks against everything that is dear to the international working class and all working people, in the attempt to undermine the sympathies of the masses toward the land of socialism, to crush the desire of the masses for joint struggle against poverty and war.

The Vatican allies of Italian fascism are incessantly endeavoring to persuade their adherents who are beginning to understand the policy of the reactionary Catholic hierarchy that the robbers, spies and creatures ready to restore capitalism are the only "true" "world revolutionaries." The bandits who perform their dirty, disgusting work in return for the money of the foreign intelligence services are at every opportunity extolled in the Vatican press as "uncompromising" Marxists. The fact that the organ of the Vatican calls the Trotskyists "the consistent revolutionary wing of the labor movement" testifies better than much else to the real role of Trotskyism as the hirelings of fascism and reaction.

During the trials against the German-Japanese Trotskyist spies and wreckers, the press of the Catholic church reaction, headed by the Vatican, defended the organizers of the assassination of Comrade S. M. Kirov, those responsible for the death of Red Army soldiers and workers. Driven in disgrace from the working class movement, Trotskyism has found its place in the ranks of the reactionary obscurantists of the Vatican. The reactionary clique which bestows its blessing upon Mussolini's death-dealing weapons and poison gases, that encourages the insidious Spanish assassin-generals, and deifies the interventionist armies as "heaven-sent soldiers," finds support in the scoundrel Trotsky and an accomplice in its intrigues against the Soviet Union, in its slander against the international working class movement, against the united People's Front of all friends of peace.

* * *

In France, among the enemies of the working people a prominent place is occupied by the Federation National Catholique, led by the arch-reactionary, General Castelnau.

In its weekly organ, *La France Catholique*, a violent campaign of lies is conducted against the Soviet Union, against the united front and the Peoples' Front, against the Communist Party and against the trade unions. "The People's Front Means War," is the favorite heading of this provocateur journal. In the spirit of Goebbels and Doriot, its pages assert that "Moscow" wants to "urge France on to war against Germany." The dirty bandit concoctions of Trotsky and his adherents provide this reactionary clique with "arguments." *La France Catholique* willingly reprints all the calumnious pamphlets of the Trotskyist gang directed against the Soviet Union, giving benevolent comments on them and "proving" on the basis of the conclusions of the Trotskyist agents of fascism, that Marxism is now a fiasco.

Towards the end of 1936 the Federation National Catholique published and distributed excerpts from a foul Trotsky-

Gestapo pamphlet against the U.S.S.R.

La France Catholique recommends this filthy leaflet for distribution among "sections of the people susceptible to Communist propaganda." Trotsky, the Vatican "world revolutionary"—as an impeccable witness against Communism!

At the end of November, 1936, a French paper of the Dominican Order published a special anti-Communist number entirely filled with quotations from the slanderous pamphlets of Trotsky and his adherents. The same organ published a review of the "Trotskyist movement in France," and certified that "its political position seems to be very strong."

The special "darling" of the French Catholic press is the Trotskyist bandit, Victor Serge, whose foul attacks against the Soviet Union and the international revolutionary working class movement are willingly reprinted by this press.

* * *

In Austria, the reactionary Catholic circles, the mainstays of the "authoritarian" dictatorship, also evoke Trotskyism as an "impeccable witness" in their struggle against Marxism-Leninism, against the Soviet Union, and against the masses of the people.

In Austria, if a worker is found with a Communist or Socialist leaflet or any anti-fascist newspaper at all, he is not only mercilessly driven out of his place of employment but is subjected to a triple punishment; the police as an "administrative" measure put him in jail, after which the court condemns him to imprisonment, following which he is sent to the concentration camp at Wellersdorf. The disgusting sheet of the Austrian Trotskyist group, which, as everywhere, consists for the most part of police agents, is recommended to its readers by the Catholic daily organ, *Storm Over Austria.*

The Fatherland Front, the monopolist organization of the Austrian "Christian" regime, recently published an extract from Trotsky's foul booklet in the form of a pamphlet entitled *What Does Trotsky Say?*, which is gratuitously distributed in the workshops.

Trotskyists, sold body and soul to fascism, can be found wherever conspiracies are being hatched against the interests of the international working class, against Communism and the Soviet Union. Present-day Trotskyism, which long ago ceased to be a political current in the working class, and is a gang of "sworn enemies of the working class, working in the pay of the intelligence service of foreign states" (Stalin), has spread itself about in the feudal clubs and cloisters of the reactionary church hierarchy, and provides them with weapons against the land of socialism and against Marxism-Leninism.

The international working class is taking care to bring to grief the plans of clerical reaction, to wrest the Catholic working people from the anti-fascists and friends of peace, as being conducted with the aid of the Trotskyist gang.

The "Newspaper of the Working People"

BY L. FARKASH

AFTER a break of several years, the central organ of the Communist Party of Hungary has appeared once more, under the title of the *Dolgozok Zapja (The Newspaper of the Working People)*.

The appearance of the central organ of the Communist Party of Hungary is proof of the fact that the Party, which during the last year has undergone the hard experience of police terror and struggle against the sabotage of the line of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern by the old leadership, has collected its forces and is beginning to develop its mass work on a new basis.

The leading article entitled *The Struggle of the Communist Party Against Fascism, for a Democratic Hungary* is devoted to a characterization of the criminal opportunist policy of the old Central Committee which led to the complete isolation of the Party from the masses.

"The fact," runs the article, "that the old Central Committee did not take any account of the urgent interests of the masses, which are urging on the people of our country to the struggle against the reactionary ruling classes, placed the Party in a very difficult position. . . . Consequent upon the sectarian policy of the Central Committee, the Party organizations were menaced with isolation from the masses, with being transformed into a narrow conspiratorial apparatus. . . . It became more and more a regular thing for comrades who previously were working legally, once they joined the Communist Party of Hungary, to have to cease their political and trade union activities, because they were overloaded with conspiratorial tasks. Very often the Party leadership prohibited Party members from carrying on legal work. Thus the members of the Party became isolated from the masses."

The former Central Committee, despite the huge tasks which confronted the Party in connection with the fascist offensive and the increase in the war danger, did not understand the specifically new situation, and under the flag of pseudo-radical slogans, hampered the struggle for the establishment of an anti-fascist front, for democratic Hungary.

"It is extremely characteristic of the political stupidity of the old Central Committee," the leading article goes on to say, "that it underestimated the importance of the mass movement against war and fascism, in defense of democratic rights and liberties and for the extension of the rights of the people."

The old leadership had no serious intention of really establishing a united proletarian front. Although it called for trade union unity, at the same time it hampered its actual realization, and under the flag of opposition encouraged the growth of the parallel trade union organizations.

In vain did the Seventh World Congress of the Comintern warn the old leadership of the Communist Party of Hungary against these opportunist mistakes. But the words of warning had no effect. The old Central Committee continued to

find the position of the Party "favorable," while the Party became more and more isolated from the masses, and was subjected to one police raid after another. The Central Committee lulled itself with the thought that the Communist Party of Hungary "had already made the change."

"The Party members also gave repeated warnings to the Central Committee regarding the incorrectness of its policy and the dangers arising therefrom. . . . But the Central Committee paid no heed to the voice of the rank and file, to their warnings and criticism. Of course, such methods of Party leadership undermined the confidence of the Party members in the Central Committee.

"However, the true position of the Communist Party of Hungary became known to the Comintern. The leading organs of the Comintern investigated the whole of the activity of the Communist Party of Hungary. The result of this investigation was the resolution of the International Control Commission.* We are convinced that all Party members were unanimous in approving this resolution."

The new organ of the Communist Party of Hungary has begun its life's journey under the slogan of the struggle against the old sectarian policy. The entire spirit and tone of the new central organ, all its articles, are imbued with the firm will and determination to carry out the task which confront the Party.

On the basis of the lessons of the French and Spanish People's Fronts, the Party organ raises the question of the possibility of a People's Front in Hungary, at the same time refuting the arguments of the Social-Democratic leadership against the united front, and pointing the way to a positive solution of the question.

"Now," writes the newspaper, "we are faced with the task of beating back the attacks of fascism, of crushing its forces, and of uniting around this task the whole of the working class, of rallying all sections of the Hungarian people in a broad People's Front."

In its columns the newspaper conducts a sharp struggle against all varieties of opportunism, in particular against the efforts of the Right Social-Democrats to reduce the movement for the People's Front to the level of a coalition policy.

The first number of the newspaper prints articles about the U.S.S.R., about the Stalin Constitution, the Plenum of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., and the trials of the Trotskyists. A special article is devoted to the provocative activities of the Trotskyist-fascist agents in Hungary. The newspaper also deals with the practical questions of the labor movement, questions of the youth, of conspiracy.

The *Newspaper of the Working People* is, without doubt, a new and sharp weapon in the hands of the Hungarian Communists and will afford great assistance to the Party in the work of solving its tasks. However, the difficulties which the new organ had to face in its first days have left their mark on it. The articles published in the newspaper (especially about the People's Front in Hungary), are not sufficiently concrete, not sufficiently illustrated by references to the political events inside the country itself; the questions are raised in too general a form.

The second weakness of the newspaper is that the most important events of the labor movement of Hungary are inadequately treated. For example, no article appeared on the miners' strike in Funfkirlen.

In its first number, the new organ made a big step forward, fulfilling an important role as organizer and leader in the difficult illegal situation prevailing in Hungary.

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* "The Resolution of the I.C.C. on the Hungarian Question," published in *The Communist International*, No. 10, 1936.

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